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OF THE
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VOL. LXXI.

PART I. (HISTORY, ANTIQUITIES, &c.)

(Nos. I and II, and Extra Nos. I and II.—1902.)



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"It will flourish, if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologists, and men of science in different parts of *Asia*, will commit their observations to writing, and send them to the Asiatic Society of Calcutta. It will languish, if such communications shall be long intermitted; and it will die away, if they shall entirely cease." SIR WM. JONES.

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J. A. S. B.

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ERRATA.

- Page 5, line 9: for Viadya read Vaidya.
- " 6 " 21-22: cancel 4 after Nowwab, and place it after Amirchand in following line.
- " 8 " 17: for Shaja read Shuja.
- " 10, note 1: line 1: for compared read composed.
- " 36, line 4: for Maṇikarn read Manikarn.
- " " 13: cancel at before somewhat peculiar.
- " " 25: for maṅgalakalāṇa read maṅgalakalaṇa.
- " " 32: " Bodhisativa read Bodhisattva.
- " 37 " 10: " yvālāmukhī " Jvālāmukhī.
- " 38 " 35: " Maṇikarn- " Manikarn.
- " 39 " 4: insert comma after Sītā.
- " " 33: for State-religion by its Rulers read state-religion by its rulers.
- " 40 " 9, 15 and 21: for kalāṇa read kalaṇa.
- " " 17: for tricūla " triṇūla.
- " 42 " 9: " Gupta made as belonging read Gupta as belonging.
- " " 16: add railing after Buddhist.
- " 44 " 26: for Rauṇat-Ṭāhirin read Rauṇatu-ṭ-Ṭāhirin.
- " 45 " 20, 28, and 33: for A'azim read A'zam.
- " " 25: for Jāmā-al-Maqāmāt read Jam'ā-l-Maqāmāt.
- " 46 " 2: " Mulli read Mullā.
- " " 11: " Anisu-t-tālibin read Anisu-ṭ-tālibin.
- " " 24: " 'Aalam read 'Alam.
- " " 32: " buūr read ba-nūr
- " 47 " 19: " Kash-miri read Kashmiri.
- " " 20: " Ratnā-kara and Rud-raṭa read Ratnākara and Rudraṭa.
- " " 31: " Harsha-karita read Harshacarita.
- " 61 " 1: " Bābhan read Bābhan.
- " " 21: " Kei read Kern.
- " " 30: " Brahman be read Brahman.
- " 100 " 32: " 'my legends' read 'many legends.'
- " 103 " 6: " 'Prithar.' read 'Prithwi.'
- " " at end of note 4: for 'note 14,' read 'note 2 above.'
- " 105, line 14: for 'Kalpi' read 'Kālpi.'
- " 106 " 15: " 'Birbal' " 'Birbal.'
- " " 1: " 'Sohanpā' read 'Sohanpāl.'
- " " 11: " 'Kartik' read 'Kātik.'
- " " 21: " 'Bir Bal' " 'Birbal.'
- " 107 " 23-4 " 'Bhārti-Chand' read 'Bhartichand.'
- " " 26: " 'Patori' read 'Patori 5.'
- " " note 8: " 'note 23' " 'note 3, p. 105.'

- Page 109, line 29 : for 'Madh Kur' read 'Madhkur.'
- " " note 3 : " 'Note 26' read 'Note 6, p. 105.'
- " 100, line 2 : " 'Madhpur-Sāh' read 'Madhpur Sāh.'
- " " " 3 : " 'lenience' read 'leniency.'
- " 111 " 2 : " 'Ghor-Jhāmai' read 'Ghor-Jhāmar.'
- " " " 4 : " 'Baroni' read 'Baroni.'
- " " " 20 : " 'Patna Kachai' read 'Pathra-Kachār.'
- " " " 23 : " 'Gantum' read 'Gautum.'
- " " " 26 : " 'Bhanrer' " 'Bhānṛer.'
- " " note 1 : " 'at' read 'as.'
- " " " 3 : " 'Pichhar' read 'Pichhor.'
- " " " 4 : " 'Garotka' " 'Garotha.'
- " " " 5 : " 'note 42' " 'note 4, p. 108.'
- " " " 10 : " 'Charipur' " 'Chainpur.'
- " " " " " 'note 50' " 'note 3, p. 110.'
- " 112, line 24, 26 and 35 for 'Selim' read 'Salim.'
- " " " 24, for 'Jehāngir' read 'Jahāngir.'
- " " note 2 : " 'Bhārwar' read 'Bhānṛer.'
- " " " 3 : " 'Motli' read 'Moth.'
- " 113, line 6 : " 'Indarjit' read 'Indarjit.'
- " " " 12 : " 'Bhadoriya' read 'Bhadoria.'
- " " " 10 : " 'Kuchhwāha' read 'Kachhwāha.'
- " " " 23 : " 'Bhārer' read 'Bhānṛer.'
- " " " 25 : " 'Selim' " 'Salim.'
- " " " 25-36 : " 'Jehāngir' read 'Jahāngir.'
- " " " 33 : " 'Irichh' read 'Irichh.'
- " 114 " 17 : " 'Charite' " 'Charitr.'
- " " note 2 : " 'Muḥbaras' read 'muḥbaras.'
- " 115, line 10 : " 'Chandar Bhān' read 'Chandarbhān.'
- " 117 " 32 : " 'Kangārs' read 'Kanghārs.'
- " 118 " 1 : " 'Narū' read 'Nāru.'
- " " " 20 : " 'Man' " 'Mān.'
- " 119, note 5 : " 'p. 37' " 'p. 120.'
- " 120 " 1 : " 'note 84' read 'note 15, p. 115.'
- " 121, line 12 : " 'that one day' read 'that in that one day.'
- " 122, note 1 : " 'p. 24' read 'p. 118.'
- " 123, line 12 : " 'Bhānrér' read 'Bhānṛer.'
- " " note 5 : " 'Lakhevā-dāda' read 'Lakhwa-dāda.'
- " 124, line 6 : " 'Chanderi' read 'Chandéri.'
- " " " 17 : " 'Patheri' read 'Patehri.'
- " " note 1 : " 'note 74' " 'note 4, p. 113.'
- " " " 2 : " 'note 76' " 'note 2, p. 114.'
- " 125 " 2 : " 'note 35' " 'note 6, p. 107.'
- " " " 5 : " 'In pargana...Lalitpur,' substitute 'a pargana in the Lalitpur sub-division of the Jhansi district, north of Lalitpur.'
- " 127 " 1 line 1 : for 'Chanderi' read 'Chandéri.'
- " " " 6 : " 'Duraj Singh' read 'Durag Singh.'
- " " " 4 : for 'see p. 24' read 'see p. 118.'

- Page 128, line 28: for 'Panari' read 'Panāri.'
 „ 130, note 3: „ 'note 168' read 'note 1 above.'
 „ „ „ 4: „ 'page 23' read 'p. 117.'
 „ „ „ 5: „ 'note 169' read 'note 2 above.'
 „ 131 „ 1: „ '(1288 A.D.)' read '(1288 A.D.); but this is of very doubtful authenticity.'
 „ „ „ 4: „ 'note 151' read 'note 5, p. 127.'
 „ „ „ 7: „ 'S. of Gwalior' read 'S. of Guna.'
 „ 132 „ 1: „ 'p. 37,' read 'p. 129.'
 „ „ „ 2: „ 'note 180' read 'note 8, p. 131.'
 „ „ „ 3: „ 'note 152' „ 'note 6, p. 127.'
 „ „ „ 5: „ 'note 137' „ 'note 9, p. 125.'
 „ 133, line 6: „ 'Kāli Dūn' „ 'Kāla Dūnr.'
 „ „ note 7: „ 'note 169' „ 'note 2, p. 130.'
 „ 134, line 29: „ 'Banpūr' „ 'Bānpūr.'
 „ „ note 6: „ 'note 135' „ 'note 7, p. 125.'
 „ 135, line 2: „ 'Gudūwal' „ 'Gudāwal.'

EDITOR'S NOTE.

To pp. 42 and 43 :—

Mr. R. Burn has kindly pointed out to me that the coins of Dhruva Mitra and Rudra Gupta described on pp. 42 and 43, have already been published in Cunningham's *Coins of Ancient India*, Plate VII, 1 and 2.

To pp. 47-60 :—

The peculiar transliteration and spelling of Oriental words adopted by Major Raverty in his paper on the Invention of Chess and Backgammon, pp. 47-60, has been retained at the author's special request.

Postscript to Mr. Theobald's paper (Vol. LXX, Part I, No. 2, p. 38, 1901.)

Since writing the above I have acquired a silver 'Purāṇa' with the figure of a Rhinoceros on it. This animal will therefore remain on the list of animals on those coins.

I find too that, by some inadvertence, the Rhinoceros has been excluded from the list of animals found on copper coins, though I had already figured it in my paper (J.A.S.B., 1890, Part I, p. 217, fig. 14), which figure was from a copper coin of Ujain. The Rhinoceros may therefore be inserted in the list on p. 71 as 55 A., that being its proper place among animals.

JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL



Part I—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. 1.—1902.

Account of late Maharaja Nubkissen Bahadur.—By S. C. HILL, Esq.

[Read 5th March, 1902.]

A few months ago Mr. N. N. Ghose published a most interesting Memoir of Maharaja Nubkissen. Amongst the documents consulted for the compilation of this Memoir was "*An Account of the late Maharaja Nubkissen Bahadur, required and delivered to A. Sterling, Esq., Persian Secretary to Government, on the 30th April, 1825.*"

Maharaja Nubkissen died on the 22nd November, 1797, and the above *Account* is said to have been written by Maharaja Sir Radha Kanta Deb Bahadur, K.C.S.I. It may therefore be taken as an authentic narrative of some of the leading events in the life of the celebrated Diwan of the Honourable East India Company. I have been permitted to publish it in the Journal of the Asiatic Society by the courtesy of Raja Binay Krishna, a descendant of Nubkissen and therefore the hereditary friend of the British Government whose power his ancestor assisted to establish.

This all too short *Account* should be extremely interesting to the historical student not only because the early history of the British connection with India is attracting so much attention at the present moment but because the proper understanding of Hindu character depends largely upon our being able to obtain side-lights illustrative of it as it

appeared before the mantle of European customs and language began to obscure its features from European eyes. If anything is evident from a consideration of this *Account* it is that the Hindu of Bengal, in all the essentials of character, is unchanged and unchangeable.

In the first place the apparent resignation of the Hindu to "*the powers that be*" does not imply the death of his national and religious feelings. In 1756 the Hindus were looking for a deliverer. A Frenchman, resident in Chandernagore at the time of the capture of Calcutta by Siraj-ud-daula, wrote to Paris that the people of the country "hugged themselves in the expectation that the English would defeat the Nabob and deliver them from his cruelty and oppression." In fact it was the intrigues of the Hindu merchants and bankers at the Murshidabad Darbar that brought about the rupture between the English and the Nawab, and, when they saw their new allies beaten, the Hindus *with a loyalty not often ascribed to them*, took every opportunity of protecting them from the Nawab's vengeance. Their action was none the less effectual because it bent to the storm and was secret.

The Hindu has always been fond of what may be called "political speculation," and clever young men of this *reputedly timorous* race have always been prepared to risk life and property by lending a helping hand to brave men in adversity on what appears an almost impossible chance of recovery. Nothing could have appeared more hopeless than the condition of the English at Fulta, yet Nubkissen thought it wise to urge his relations to save these apparent outcasts from starvation.

It is not the Hindu only who worships the great Goddess Chance, but the Hindu delights in recalling the influence of trifling incidents upon the careers of great men. Nubkissen walked in a certain street on a certain day, and so became the Company's Diwan.

Finally as an illustration of Asiatic reserve and Asiatic love of dramatic effect one may notice the disclosure of Nubkissen's rank. A man of high birth, he accepts a post, which, though lucrative and probably honourable amongst his fellow-countrymen, gives him no position commensurate in the eyes of his European employers with his real rank. It is disclosed by an enemy in a way which is intended to mortify as well as damage him, but, owing to the lucky accident of Clive's intuitive knowledge of Asiatic character, the disclosure only adds to his honour and confirms his position.

I have vainly searched the records of the Government of India for evidence of Nubkissen's having assisted the English at Fulta, but the accounts of what happened at Fulta are extremely meagre and, though the secret supply of provisions by natives under cover of night is mentioned, the names of these natives are not given. This is no reason

for doubting the family tradition,¹ for it is certain that Nubkissen's friends were influential people at Fulta, and it was only the inhabitants of the immediate neighbourhood who could hope to correspond with the English without attracting the notice of the Nawab's spies. How this brought him to the notice of Lord (then Colonel) Clive is explained in a note by Babu Nilmani Mukerjea, late Principal of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, which I append to the Account.

S. CHARLES HILL,

Officer in charge of the Records of the Govt. of India.

January 14th, 1902.

Account of the late Maharaja Nubkissen Bahadur required by and delivered to A. Sterling, Esq., Persian Secretary to Government on the 30th April, 1825.

As an account of this family from its first founder and his immediate descendants would contain an immoderate length of detail (they having held respectable situations under the former sovereigns of Bengal) I will begin with his eighteenth descendant named Daveedas Mujmooadar; this individual was appointed Kanoongoe of Pergunnah Mooragacha, &c., in the District of 24-Pergunnahs, where he resided having removed his dwelling-house from his native village of Cansona, near Moorshidabad. On the demise of Daveedas Mujmooadar his sons Sahasracsha Mujmooadar and Rueminikant Byabaherta presented themselves to Nowwab Mahabutgunge² at Moorshidabad, who was pleased to appoint the former to his late father's office, and the latter a Manager of the Estate Casubram Roy Chowdhoory then minor Zemindar of Pergunnah Mooragacha, &c. After the death of Rueminikant Byabaherta his son Rameswar Byabaherta having succeeded his father, paid into the Nowwab's Treasury the Revenues of the above Pergunnah amounting to more than the former settlement, in consequence of which Casubram Roy having attained to full age confined Ramswor Byabaherta in his own house, on account of which Ramchurn Byabaherta (son of Rameswar Byabaherta) went to Moorshidabad and introduced himself to the Royrayn³ Chain Roy and delivered in writing in the Nowwab's Record

¹ The Rev. J. Long, as Mr. Ghose points out, mentions Nubkissen's assistance of the English as an undoubted fact. Governor Verelst in his "View of the English Government in Bengal" writes: "Nubkissen is a native Hindu, who had been extremely zealous in the English cause during the troubles preceding Meer Jaffer's elevation to the subahdarry." This, I think, is as near as we can get to a complete confirmation of the family tradition.

² Mahabat Jang or Alawardi Khan, Nawab of Bengal.

³ Rayrayan. A title bestowed by the Muhammadans on Hindu noblemen.

an additional Tahud or agreement for the sum of 50,000 Rupees for the Pergunnah of Mooragacha, and was appointed Ohdadar or Revenue farmer for that Pergunnah, and obtained the release of his father from confinement and revenged on Casubram Roy by imprisoning him and paid in sums to the Nowwab's Sircar over and above the Tahood executed by him and afterwards quitted his abode in Pergunnah Mooragacha and built a house at Govindpore in Calcutta where he having left his family proceeded to Moorshidabad, and presented himself to the above-mentioned Nowwab and Royrayn, and was appointed Salt Agent and Collector of Hidgelle, Tumlook, Mohisadub, &c., and discharged his duties to the great benefit and entire satisfaction of his superiors.

In the meantime Nowwab Muniruddeen Khan, brother of the Subadar of Arcat, having quarrelled with his brother came to Nowwab Mahabutgunge, Subadar of Bengal, who showed him much respect and nominated him Subadar of the Province of Cuttack and also appointed Ramchurn Byabaherta Dewan of that Province and sent them with a considerable force for preventing the incursions of the Mahrattas. They accordingly arrived at Midnapore to suppress the Pindaras, and from thence marched towards Cuttack, but their Army was at a great distance excepting a few people of their retinue who accompanied them when a number of Pindaras consisting of about 400 Horsemen, suddenly fell upon them from the woods, and plundered and cut off the Nowwab and Dewan with their attendants who fought them with great bravery.

At that time Dewan Ramchurn had three infant sons, *viz.*, Ramsundra Deb the eldest, Manickchandra Deb the second, and Nobocrishna Deb the youngest. They were very much distressed at the loss¹ of their father, and their paternal property by the death of Fukher Tojjar at Hooghly in whose hands the same had been deposited. Their mother defrayed the expense of their maintenance, education and marriage with her own money and built a new house at Govindpore in consequence of the old premises having been encroached on by the River. Some time since that Fort William was erected at Govindpore, after the residences of Individuals of that village having been removed, they received from the Hon'ble Company 10 Biggahs of ground in Arpooly² and 5,000 Rupees for buildings in lieu of their dwelling-house at Govindpore. The ground received in Exchange at Arpooly not being sufficient for habitation Ramsundra Deb purchased a house, formerly belonging to Ramsunker Ghose, at Sootanooty in Calcutta with the above money after which

¹ Fakhretujjar, *i.e.*, the pride of merchants. This name is mentioned in a letter from Mr. John Young, Prussian Agent at Chandernagore, dated July 10th, 1756.

² Arpooly in Calcutta.

Nobocrishna Deb bought more grounds and built suitable buildings, and resided there with his numerous family and relatives. When Ramsundra Deb became fit for business, he at first did the duties of Aumeen or Supervisor of Panchcote commonly called Panchet¹ and other places and supported his family for some years.

In the year 1756 all the nobles and principal persons of the Provinces of Bengal and Behar were dissatisfied with the tyrannical conduct of Nowwab Seraj-ud-dowlah, whereupon Rajah Rajbullabha² (who was a Viadya by caste of Dacca) fled from Moorshidabad and took refuge at Calcutta, in consequence of which the Nowwab issued a Perwannah to Mr. Drake then Governor of Calcutta, directing him to seize and send the Rajah to him but Mr. Drake without complying with this requisition answered the Perwannah stating that he would make the Rajah pay immediately if the Nowwab had any demands against him, on sending particulars of the same, upon which the Nowwab was very much incensed at Mr. Drake, and wrote him another Perwannah threatening him that if he did not deliver up the Rajah on receipt of the Perwannah he would send his Troops to seize the Rajah and to drive out the English from Bengal, in consequence of which Mr. Drake and other English gentlemen were thrown into perplexity, they not having sufficient force to repel the enemy when Rajah Rajbullabha assured them that all the Sirdars who were dissatisfied with the Nowwab would never fight the English and accordingly all the Ministers and Sirdars of the Nowwab joined together and sent a Persian Letter from Moorshidabad to Mr. Drake, by a Hurcarah³ who delivered it with the instruction that it was a Letter which contained a secrecy and should not be read nor replied to by the agency of any Musulman Moonshee but that a Hindu should be employed for that purpose, for which reason Mr. Drake without shewing that Letter to the Company's Moonshee Tajuddeen, ordered his Hurcarahs to search for and bring a Hindu Moonshee from Calcutta.

On that very day Nobocrishna Deb was gone to Burrah Bazar in the afternoon, when one of the Hurcarahs of Mr. Drake knowing by inquiry that he was acquainted with the Persian language took him to Mr. Drake to whom Nobocrishna Deb read the Persian Letter and explained the contents thereof and wrote an answer to it, although he was then a youth attending school, yet he executed this arduous task, by the superior mental faculties he was endowed with and thereby met

¹ Panchet in the Manbhum District.

² The English account is that Rajbalav's son Krishna Das took refuge at Calcutta with all his father's treasures.

³ Harkara, one who does every business. Here a messenger or spy.

with the highest approbation of Government who were pleased to appoint him to the office of a Moonshee of the East India Company and granted him a Palankeen with Bearers for his conveyance and 200 Rupees for Dress.

After the above the Nowwab Seraj-ud-dowlah attacked Calcutta with a grand Army in June 1756, and the English having but a small force did not engage in hostilities, and the Governor and most other English gentlemen retired to Madras¹ on board of ships and the rest were imprisoned in the Black-hole, and all the inhabitants of Calcutta fled to different places. The Nowwab having taken Calcutta, named it Alinugur and dominated one Rajah Manickchunder Governor of Alinugur, and returned to Moorshidabad. Mr. Drake and the former members of Council having arrived at Madras brought Colonel Clive on board of one of Admiral Watson's fleet who landed with his force at Fulta (otherwise Colpy)² within six months and took the Forts of Budge Budge, Tana Magooa, and Aligur³ (which was built and so named by Manickchunder) and defeated the Nowwab's Army and surprised Rajah Manickchunder who was then amusing himself at Nautches and caused him to flee to Moorshidabad and took possession of Calcutta, in January 1757, when Moonshee Nobocrishna waited upon Colonel Clive, and resumed his Office.

Subsequently in 1757 Nowwab⁴ Seraj-ud-dowlah attacked Calcutta again, and encamped in Amirchund's garden called Hulsy Bang whereupon Colonel Clive deputed Moonshee Nobocrishna with an Engineer Officer under the pretence of making proposals of peace and sending presents to the Nowwab and his attendants. The above two Officers of English Government brought with them in writing a particular account of their encampment and Colonel Clive marched his force up to the Nowwab's Camp at the end of the night and blew up the Nowwab's Tent and those of his Sirdars by the first fire from Cannon, the Nowwab however saved his life by having prudently removed to another Tent during the night and so escaped with the loss of the greatest part of his Troops and battle and Colonel Clive followed him to Plassey where he fought a dreadful battle with the Nowwab's Commander-in-Chief

¹ The English retired only to Fulta where they were reinforced from Madras.

² Colpy or Kalpi, about 20 miles below Fulta.

³ Tanna Muckwa in Rennell's Map. Hunter's Gazetteer says :—"An old port on the Hughli River, opposite Fort Aligarh in Garden Reach, an old suburb in Calcutta." It is said that the old Fort of Tanna was on the site of the house occupied by the Superintendent of the Botanical Gardens.

⁴ Better known as Omichand, the great banker, who threatened to betray Clive and the English to Seraj-ud-dowlah and was himself outwitted.

Meer Mudun¹ and slew him, and totally defeated and dispersed the Nowwab's Troops.

Another account says that the above successful attack on the Camp of Nowwab Seraj-ud-dowlah, induced him in February 1757 to conclude a treaty to the greatest advantage of the English but scarcely had this contest terminated when news was received of a War having been declared between England and France and the reduction of the French power became an object of importance to the English. Nowwab Seraj-ud-dowlah informed the Council of Calcutta that if hostilities were carried into his country by the English, he would assist the French with all his power. However after a vigorous assault, Chandernagore was taken by the English and the Nowwab having shown marks of displeasure at this event it was resolved to depose him by supporting Mir Jafer Aly Khan (who had married the sister of Aliverdy Khan Seraj-ud-dowlah's predecessor). This was followed by a decisive action on the Plains of Plassey in which the Nowwab's Troops were routed in every direction and he was obliged to fly from his Capital in the disguise of a Faquir and was brought to Moorshidabad and beheaded by Meer Jafer's eldest son.²

Jafer Aly Khan from Letters having passed between him and Moonshee Nobocrishna did not give battle, but formed an alliance with Colonel Clive who took possession of Moorshidabad and declared Jafer Aly Khan to be the lawful Nowwab of Bengal. With the sanction of Colonel Clive Moonshee Nobocrishna³ settled the terms of the Soobadary agreement with Nowwab Jafer Ali Khan, and made arrangements for conducting the affairs of the Provinces in concurrence with the Naib Soobadar Nowwab Moozufferjung and fixed an annual Nizamut allowance at 18,00,000 Rupees and the expenses of the Soobadary, &c., at 7,00,000 Rupees making in all 25 lacks of Rupees (some say 24 lacks) and returned to Calcutta with Colonel Clive, and was crowned with the highest esteem and regard of that gentleman for his faithful discharge of the important public duties intrusted to him, after which Colonel Clive proceeded to England assuring Moonshee Nobocrishna that he would return soon with the appointment⁴ to a distinguished situation.

In the year 1761 Mr. Vansittart, being appointed Governor of

¹ The only faithful general of Seraj-ud-dowlah. The Hindus claim him as originally a Hindu, which is inconsistent, I believe, with the title of Mir Seraj-ud-dowlah was present at the battle and fled when he heard Mir Madan was killed.

² Miran, himself killed by lightning about three years later.

³ The official accounts say that Mir Jafer employed Jagat Seth as his Agent with the English.

⁴ Mr. Henry Vansittart was Governor, from July 27th, 1760, to November 1764.

Calcutta, nominated Ramchurun Roy as his Dewan and sent for Nowwab Jafer Aly Khan and Nowwab Mozufferjung from Moorshidabad to Calcutta on account of some faults that they had committed and displaced them from the Musnud and instated Nowwab Kassim Aly Khan Soobadar in their stead. Shortly after Kassim Aly Khan removed his seat from Moorshidabad to Monghyr and treacherously killed all the English gentlemen of Moorshidabad, Patna, Cassimbazar, &c, and also inhumanly destroyed almost all the nobles of Bengal, namely, Royrayn Ommad Roy, Maharajah Ramnarain,¹ Rajah Rajbullabha with his son and Jugut Sate with his brother and others, excepting Nowwab Jafer Aly Khan, Nowwab Muzufferjung and Moharaja Doollu Charan who were then in Calcutta.

Afterwards Major Adams² went to war against Kassim Aly Khan, accompanied with force³ and Moonshee Nobocrishna and fought a signal battle at Oady Nullah, for four days successively (some say nine days) and defeated Kassim Aly Khan's Troops and gained victory over him pursuing him across the Nullah, he however fled to Nowwab Shaja-ud-Dowlah at Lucknow. Moonshee Nobocrishna having been employed for three days in the execution of the orders of Major Adam fell sick in consequence of the extreme fatigue and was confined in his Tent on the fourth day when the plundering soldiers of the Nowwab robbed his Tent and attempted to cut him off, but he ran away, and jumped into the Nullah and swam it over and saved his life by joining the British Army. Major Adams having been most arduously employed in this war, was taken dangerously ill, for which reason Moonshee Nobocrishna and Mr. Skinner were bringing him to Calcutta in a boat but this meritorious officer unfortunately died near Calcutta.

In 1765 Lord Clive being appointed Governor-General of India with unlimited powers arrived at Calcutta on the 3rd May and Mr. Vansittart embarked for Europe previously to that without seeing his Lordship, in consequence of the calamities occasioned by his nomination of Kassim Aly Khan Soobadar of Bengal. Lord Clive was pleased to employ Moonshee Nobocrishna confidentially as before and after consulting him reinstated Nowwab Jaffer Aly Khan Soobadar and Mozufferjung Naib Soobadar, after which Moonshee Nobocrishna accompanied Lord Clive as far as Allahabad (some say Delhi) and concluded a treaty with his Majesty Shah Alum, and his Highness Nowwab Shaja-ud-Dowlah to the satisfaction of his Lordship, and obtained from his Majesty on the 2nd Showal 1179 Higeree (A.D. 1765) a dignity of Munsub

¹ Raja Ram Narain, Deputy Governor of Bihar.

² i.e., Major Adams.

³ 2nd August, 1763.

Punjhuzaree,¹ three thousand Suwars or Horsemen Title of Rajah Bahadoor Palky Jhalerdar Toogh, Nukarah, &c., and also from his Highness valuable Khelats and other marks of honor and on the same day a Munsub of one thousand five hundred Suwar and Title of Roy were conferred on the above mentioned two eldest brothers of Rajah Nobocrishna, who then proceeded with his Lordship to Benares and Azeemabad and consecrated an Image of the Deity Shiva in the Temple of Visweswara, and effected the settlement of the Province of Benares with Moharaja Bulvant Singh and that of the Province of Behar with Moharaja Setab Roy and came back to Calcutta with his Lordship.

One day as Lord Clive was engaged in the Council Chamber in consultation on the subject of rewarding the useful services rendered by Rajah Nobocrishna Bahadoor, a Persian Letter in answer to that of Lord Clive arrived from the Soobadar of Arcat, and his Lordship desired Rajah Nobocrishna to read and explain that Letter and he, finding the contents thereof to be adverse to his interests, remained silent for a moment but was obliged to interpret it on being urged by his Lordship. The substance of it was as follows: "It is my wish also that the war with English Company being ended and a treaty concluded with them, both the Powers continue in good terms, but Rajah Nobocrishna (who manages the Company's affairs, being the son of Dewan. Ramchurn, the associate of my enemy Mouneeruddeen Khan) will obstruct the intended negotiation for which reason it is needless to make mention of Peace during the continuance of Rajah Nobocrishna."

The subject of the above Letter being explained to Lord Clive, he desired Rajah Nobocrishna to await in a room adjoining the Council Chamber for a moment who thereupon was alarmed at the probability of his dismissal, but on the contrary, his Lordship having consulted with the Council, called Rajah Nobocrishna and said thus: "Why did you not inform me so long that you were of such a noble family? The Company have derived great benefit from your services and laborious undertakings. Not knowing the rank of your descent we could not show you the respect due to it. From this day, we appoint you Dewan to the Hon'ble Company and the title and Robe of Honor, &c., shall be conferred upon you shortly."

In the 1180 Higeree (A.D. 1766) Lord Clive was pleased to get a Furman or Mandate from his Majesty Shah Alum granting Rajah Nobocrishna Bahadoor a dignity of Munsub Shush Huzary,² Four thousand

¹ Munsub Punjhuzaree, a title bestowed with a khalat of 5,000 rupees value Palky Jhalerdar Tope, a fringed and covered palankeen. Nukarah, the right to have a kettle drum.

² i.e., 6,000.

Suwar, and Title of Moharajah and to bestow upon him a gold Medal with a Persian Inscription, as a Testimonial to all India of the regard which Lord Clive and the Hon'ble Company had for his faithful and honest services, and a Khelat of ten Parcha¹ with Precious Garland of Pearls, Chowkurah, Jeggah, Sirpech, Murussa, &c.; and also Shield, Sword, Elephant, Horse, Jhalerdar Palky, Assa, Sotta, Bullum, Choury, Morechul, Ghury, &c., and allowed him a Guard of Sepoys to watch his Gate and fixed to him a monthly salary of 2,000 Rupees, upon which Moharajah Nobocrishna Bahadoor thankfully represented to Lord Clive that through his Lordship's benevolence he was not under the necessity of receiving from the Hon'ble Company such a large sum per mensem but that a monthly allowance of Rupees 200 might be fixed hereditarily to preserve the character of his family; and his Lordship accordingly complied with his representation and kindly handed him to his conveyance on an Elephant and the Moharajah came home in a grand procession scattering Rupees all about him and received the sum of 200 Rupees every month from the General Treasury during his life-time, but it was stopped after his death.

In the year 1767 Lord Clive gave the charge of Government to Mr. Varelst² and proceeded to England and Moharaja Nobocrishna Bahadoor continued in the capacity of political Dewan to the Hon'ble Company and discharged every part of his duties to the utmost satisfaction of Mr. Varelst. At that time the old mother of the Moharaja died and he performed her Sraddha or obsequies at such an immense sum of money that no Sraddha of the kind has before or after been made by any person. On hearing this, the Members of the Council informed Mr. Varelst that Moharaja Nobocrishna having expended all his money in the celebration of his mother's funeral rites, distributed in alms many Lacs of Rupees belonging to the Hon'ble Company's Treasury in his charge. After the completion of the Sraddha when the Moharaja went to visit Mr. Varelst, he told him in jest saying: "I am informed that you lost your sense and have expended the whole of your wealth as well as several Lacs of Rupees belonging to the Company's Treasury in the

¹ i.e., of ten pieces. The Khilat or dress of honour was compared of different pieces and the number of the latter was graduated in accordance with the honour intended to be bestowed. *Chow Kurah*, a four cornered cap. *Jeggah*, a feather on the *Serpaith*, which is a bund clasping the forehead. *Murussa*, a turban. *Assa*, a straight silver staff. *Sotta*, a shorter silver rod with a bent handle. *Bullum*, an arrow. *Chowry*, a silver rod with a horse-tail attached. *Morechul*, a silver rod with peacock feathers. *Ghury*, a kind of plate which was supposed to break when poisoned food was placed upon it. These were manufactured at Ghore, near Candahar.

² Mr. Harry Varelst was Governor, from January 29th, 1767, to December, 1769.

performance of your mother's obsequies." Moharaja Nobocrishna, as soon as he heard the above, locked up the Treasury (then called Money Godown) and left the key on the table of Mr. Varelst, soliciting him to remove his doubts by sending for the person who accused him together with one of the Members of the Council and desiring them to examine and receive the Cash in Balance at the Treasury, upon which Mr. Varelst endeavoured to pacify the Moharaja by using expressions of politeness and wished him to depart in the temper he came, but the Moharaja said that if the Cash at the Treasury was not examined such measure would degrade his character. Mr. Varelst said to the Moharaja: "I am well acquainted with your character and conduct, there is no doubt but the Cash is in the Treasury;" notwithstanding which, the Maharaja replied saying: "As long as the Cash shall remain unexamined the imputation both on you and me shall increase." Finding the Moharaja inflexible, Mr. Varelst sent a Counsellor to the Treasury who examined the Cash account and found a surplus of 7,00,000 Rupees belonging to the Moharaja and apprized Mr. Varelst of it, who was very much ashamed, apologized and delivered back the key of the Treasury to the Moharaja, but the Moharaja declined receiving the key saying, when you were informed of the embezzlement on my part, you could disgrace me immediately by summoning and detaining me until you had examined and received the Company's Treasure, but instead of doing so, you have kindly preserved my character. In your absence no other Governor will do me so much favour, for which reason I think it proper to resign to you all the high and important offices of the Hon'ble Company, which I have the honour to hold and not to do service any more from this day.

On the next day, Moharaja Nobocrishna Bahadoor removed all the public offices which he had in his house to Mr. Varelst, namely, Moonshee Duffer (Persian Secretary's Office), Aruz Beguy Duffer (Office of the Individual presenting all Petitions and representing such as may have been made verbally), Tuhseel Duffer of 24-Pergunnahs, Collector Office of the District of 24-Pergunnahs, Maul Adaulut of 24-Pergunnahs (Financial Court of that district), Cutchery of Jota Mala (a tribunal trying causes relative to tribe or caste), &c., and remained unemployed, devoting the remainder of his days to Religion and preparing himself for future life.

Moharaja Nobocrishna Bahadoor presented a valuable spot of ground for the erection of Saint John's Church, the present cathedral, without accepting the sum of 45,000 Rupees offered by the Council for the same and constructed a Highway known by the name of Rajah's Jan-gal or Dike from Behala near Calcutta to Coolpy—about 16 coss in

length—at his own expense of upwards of one Lac of Rupees conformably to the wish of Lord Clive and constructed a wide road leading to his dwelling-house, called Rajah Nobocrishna's Street, by purchasing grounds at a considerable cost and paved and repaired it at his own expense during his existence, and rendered great assistance in establishing House Tax in Calcutta and obtained a Talookdary Grant for Mowza Sootanooty, Bagbazar and Hogulcoondy in 1778 from the Hon'ble Company in exchange for Mouza Nowparah, &c., belonging to him, whereby most part of the respectable and opulent native gentlemen of Calcutta became his tenants, and made a settlement for the District of Burdwan in 1780 and preserved the sources of Government Revenue as well as the Estate of Moharajah Dheraj Tejchunder Bahadoor during his minority. He supported and assisted his numerous kindred and relations as well as respectable Cooleens or individuals of eminent descent and Pundits or learned men of Bengal of renown and encouraged all kinds of Arts and Sciences and gratified the wishes of Actors, Dancers and Singers from different parts of the World. He was the leader of fashion and model of imitation to the native community of this Metropolis and received the first reverence as well as Chaplet and Sandal before others at any Assembly he or his family was present agreeably to the Hindu custom. His house was honoured with the presence of almost all the former Nowwabs, Soobadars, Royrayns, Governor and Rajahs. He died on the 22nd November, 1797, leaving a large Estate, both real and personal, amounting to one crore of Rupees more or less, and two legal heirs or representatives, *viz.* :

1st, Baboo Gopeemohun Deb, who was third son of Moharajah Nobocrishna's eldest brother—Ramsundra Deb, and adopted by the Moharajah for his son, agreeably to the Hindu Law, and 2nd, Moharajah Rajcrishna Bahadoor, who was born some years after the adoption and died on the 19th of August, 1823. Gopeemohun Deb has only one son named Radhakant Deb (who is the Author of the Bengalee Spelling Book, and Sanscrit Dictionary, entitled Sabda Calpa Druma and a Director of the Vidyalaya or Hindu College, Member of the Calcutta School Book Society, Secretary and Member of the Calcutta School Society and Vice-President of the Agricultural Society). Maharaja Rajcrishna has left eight sons, of whom Baboo Sivacrishna Deb is the eldest.

Note by Babu Nilmani Mukerjea, dated 24th July, 1899.

"About 30 years ago, when I visited the English School at Sarisa, near Diamond Harbour as Deputy Inspector of Schools, I met some members of the Bose family of that village, and our conversation turned on one occasion upon the antecedents of Maharaja Nabakrishna Deb. I

was informed that the mother of Nabakrishna had come of the Sarisa Bose family and that young Nabakrishna used to visit his maternal uncle's house now and then.

"When Colonel Clive halted at Fulta on the Hughli, on his expedition to re-capture Calcutta from Nowab Sirajoodowla, he was put to great trouble for want of provisions. Nabakrishna was then staying with his maternal uncles at Sarisa. Having received news of Clive's difficulties, he began to collect rice, ghee, live stock, &c., and succeeded in getting a decent supply through the interest of the Bose family, who possessed great influence in that part. Young Nabakrishna had then a presentiment that he would make or mar his fortune, though his relatives were not very sanguine about the success of his adventure; they had then misgivings and endeavoured to dissuade him at first, but he was not a man to be deterred from an undertaking on which he had his heart.

"He then started for Fulta which lay about 6 miles from Sarisa presented himself before Clive who was struck by his pre-possessing appearance and resourcefulness, and accepted whatever provision he had brought with great joy. Nabakrishna followed the expedition up the river, and rendered useful service to his employer Clive by bringing provisions as far as Budge-Budge, where Manickchand, the Nowwab's Governor of the local Fort, showed some fight. Since that time, Nabakrishna who was well-versed in Persian, the lingua-Franca of India at that time, and had a smattering of English, was employed by Clive as his Munshee and rose step by step into high favour, till at last in 1765, when the Emperor of Delhi conferred the Dewani of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, on the East India Company, he played a prominent part by acting as interpreter between Clive and the Emperor, for which he was eminently fitted on account of his knowledge of Persian and English."

The Secret Words of the Cūhrās.—By Rev. T. GRAHAME BAILEY, B.D.,
M.A., *Wazirābād.*

[Read 8th January, 1902.]

Like other tribes, which from the practice of generations, have become addicted to evil deeds, the Cūhrās have a secret vocabulary which greatly facilitates the commission of crime and equally hinders its detection. In their case the special words are connected chiefly, on the one hand with thieving and house-breaking, and, on the other, with the eating of cattle which have been found dead, and consequently with the means employed to ensure a moderately good supply of such dead animals. Throughout this article the secret words will be in italics.

Without a knowledge of these words one cannot become thoroughly acquainted with the Cūhrās or with their ways of thought and action. In order to get right to the heart of things let us accompany an expedition which has as its object the plundering of some rich man's house. Some *churm* (thief), who always keeps his eyes open has discovered a *kudḍh* (house), belonging to some *Rārka* (Hindū) or *Ghīr balā* Musalmān). He seeks out another *Kālā* (thief) from among his own people, the *Rūyge* (Cūhrās), or he may find an obliging *Bhātū* (Sāsi) ready to help him. Having painted in glowing colours the richness of the house in *bhīmte* (rupees) and *bagēlē* (do.) and *harjīye* (paise) and *thēlē* (a kind of ornament), he says '*calō gul lāiyē* (let us break into the house). We shall follow these men, as on a dark moonless night they set out. Having reached the house they produce their *tombū* (iron instrument for house-breaking, an oriental jemmy) and set to work. They take the precaution of placing by their side several *chikāre* or clods of earth with which to assail any unwelcome intruder. The hole is finally made and the thief leaving outside his *kārki*, stick, and *paintrī* or *cākhal* (shoes), and telling his *liṭārā* (confidant) to keep a sharp look out, enters the house. If he finds no one inside he will venture to light a *ghasāī* (match). Suddenly a small clod of earth drops near the house-breaker; this is the *neolā* (piece of earth thrown as a warning of impending danger). He looks round in alarm and hears

the whispered words "*kaḥjā cāmdā i*" (a jāṭ is looking). This interruption in his *gaimi* (thieving) he feels to be most inopportune. He feels still more ill at ease when he hears another hoarse whisper "*ṭhip jā* (hide yourself) *palwē hōjā*" (get to one side). He calls back "*kaḥkar kar* (throw a clod of earth) *lōṭh lai sū*" (beat him or kill him) and emerges from the house. The *neoḍi* (theft) has not prospered. The two thieves flee by different ways to their homes, and next day discuss with great astonishment, bordering on incredulity, a report which has got abroad that a *kaḥjā* has been attacked by two Cūhṛā *churṃ* (thieves) who were engaged in *lālī* (robbery) and has almost *lug gayā* (died).

An account given me of an event which took place in a town in which I was staying will serve as an introduction to the subject of cattle poisoning and carrion eating.

"Aj ik iththē dāhḍi sōhwī tē tomī Kaḥsī lug gaī. Te kisē To-day a here very fine and fat cow died and someone *Rārkhē dē koḷ pōlkē nūkar kiti bhai Rā wiccō*

to-the-Hindūs having-gone accusation made that out of the Cūhṛās kisē jā *tiārī sairī, jā lānjī māri, jā kisē tarā* someone either poison gave or poisoned-iron-point smote or in some way *nāl gaṇḍ ditti. Tē Rārkhē kathāyā sī bhai aṣī na inhā nū* killed. and the Hindu said that we neither to-them *khānjarā tilm dēḥgē tē na inhā nū lippā sairāgē* the carrion to eat will give and not to them the skin will give.

Each company of Cūhṛās is supposed to possess at least one *rukḥm*, or cattle poisoner. It is his business to arrange for the poisoning of suitable animals. He charges six annas for a cow and eight annas for a buffalo. The poison is made up into little balls, white, and black, and green, the black and green being more potent. One tola put into the food of a cow is sufficient to cause death in 24 hours, but a buffalo requires two tolas. They say that a horse will not take food with the poison in it. For this reason they kill horses with poisoned sharp-pointed instruments, which are made in two sizes; the smaller can be concealed in the hand and is called a *lānjī*, the larger is a short stick with the poisoned iron point affixed to the end, and is called *chaggī*.

It is extremely hard to get Cūhṛās to admit any knowledge of these practices or even of the secret words. After speaking to a considerable number of the people I have come to the conclusion that a fair proportion of them are genuinely ignorant of the less common words of their vocabulary. Militating somewhat against this is the fact that they, one and all, delight in the songs sung by their *giyānis*, which contain a proportion of secret words. There is little doubt

that this Pashtō, as they call their special phraseology is better known in some places than in others, and in all cases it is extremely probable that those men are best acquainted with it who habitually give themselves up to criminal pursuits. The Sāsis call their own specially secret dialect Fārsī. It is hardly necessary to point out that in neither case is there any connection with Pashtō or Persian.

Unlike the Sāsis the Cūhṛās have no grammar of their own. They use ordinary Panjābī, inserting, when there is need for secrecy, their private words which others will not understand. If it be objected that their hidden vocabulary is too meagre to allow them much freedom in this exercise, it may be answered that the subjects in connection with which they desire secrecy are very limited, and it is wonderful how far it is possible, even with a few unknown words, to mystify the uninitiated.

Sometimes to disguise an ordinary word the letter 'm' is inserted. Thus a little boy said to me—"uh *Kūtrā Ghirbalā dē skamūl pōlā jā*,"—that boy (to the) Musalmāns' school gone has." Here 'skamūl' is used for 'skūl.'

One of my informants amusingly but forcibly illustrated the unwillingness with which Cūhṛās will tell strangers anything about their argot. He confided in me only when all doors were shut, and even then the slightest sound used to make him start and look round to find out if anyone was listening or watching.

The following song, which sings the delights of carrion eating, will give some idea of the verse current among these people.

1. *Maddar* Pīr pahārī caḥiā
Khilqat mātthā tēkdī.

2. *Sundī* Māi akkaṛ bhannē
Culhēdē wicc lāḍī.

3. *Gicli* Māi jhand khalārē
Dandē wallō wekhdī.

1. Lo! St.¹ Thigh has risen on
high²

The people bow their heads.

2. Mother Outlet³ twists and turns,
I' the fireplace as she lies.

3. Mother kneejoint's grizzling⁴
now,
And looking towards the teeth.

¹ Observe the canonisation in the first couplet and the dignity accorded in the second and third.

² *i.e.*, has been elevated to the cooking pot.

³ Akkaṛ bhannā means to stretch as in yawning, hence to walk stiffly and proudly. Here it refers to twisting under the action of the fire. For *sundī* and *gicli* see vocabulary.

⁴ Jhand khalārā, used of hair standing on end, here of splitting up and separation of meat.

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| <p>4. Illā jhurmaṭ pā liā
Kā bahṇ banērē</p> <p>5. Jaṭ jo puchdā Cūhrīē
Ghar kī hāi tērē.</p> <p>6. Caudhri nikkē di gaṇḍ hai
Waḍḍē dē phērē.</p> <p>7. Maṭ bharāsā chadḍiā
Cūhrī phērē cauphērē.</p> <p>8. Bhannī hōi sainḍki
Cūhrī bhānyīā² phērē.</p> <p>9. Pāṭi hōi taingṇi
Walpaiṇ cauphērē.</p> <p>10. Khālō mēriō kurṁō⁷
Kōhli dē bēre.</p> <p>11. Chaili de wicc sukdē,
Khurḍumbe³ bēre.</p> | <p>4. Kites have formed a circle
round,
Crows sit upon the roof.</p> <p>5. Asks the farmer 'Cūhrī, say
what is there in thy house?'</p> <p>6. "The younger son's engage-
ment, Sir,¹
The marriage of the elder."</p> <p>7. The pot sends forth a savoury
steam,
The Cūhrī bustles round.</p> <p>8. Broken is her vessel now
She hands round² marriage
food.</p> <p>9. Torn also is the Cūhrī's skirt,
Round and round she goes.</p> <p>10. "Eat away my³ hearties all
Fragments from the breast."</p> <p>11. In the basket, see, are drying
Fat⁴ delicious morsels."</p> |
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Another pair of couplets relate a practical joke played by a Cūhrā.

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| <p>Ghuṭ ghaṭkē gaṇḍar baddhā</p> <p>Ottē thabbā parāli dā</p> <p>Kajjē dē hatth maī dē tōriā</p> <p>Tattā tattā tāri dā.</p> | <p>The bundle bound I tight and
fast (<i>i.e.</i>, bundle of carrion).</p> <p>On top a bunch of rice stalks
placed (to hide the carrion).</p> <p>By a farmer's hand I sent it home.
Hot and ready for soup.</p> |
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"Here we have an Oriental version of "beautiful soup, so rich and green, waiting in a hot tureen." The farmer must have been a Hindū to account for the Cūhrā's glee at getting him to carry the carrion.

¹ The Cūhrī (female of Cūhrā) displays a facility in saying the thing which is not.

² Bhānyīā, food given on the occasion of a marriage; the host gives it expecting to receive as much or more when he in turn is guest at a marriage feast. The delicate humour of comparing the joys of eating carrion to the rejoicings at a wedding will be appreciated.

³ The fathers of the girl and boy to be married are 'Kurṁ' to each other. Here 'Kurṁ' (pl.) includes all the guests who have come with the 'Kurṁ.'

⁴ A fat-tailed sheep is called 'dumba; 'Khurḍumbā' means 'full of fat,' rich like the tail of a 'dumba.'

The following refers again to a carrion feast—

Lāl lāl kandhī lāyā.

The red is thrown to the wall
(red=the blood of the dead
animal).

Citte dā dēgā cāhidā.

The white is placed in the pot
(white=the flesh).

Ghar sādē thāna latthā.

In our house there's a thāna to-day
(referring to the congregation
of kites and crows watching
the carrion).

Wagyārā nahī chuṭkāri dā.

There's no time even for labour
that's forced.

There's a fifth line to this rhyme, but it has an obscene meaning.

The following vocabulary will be of some interest. The connection between the Cūḥrā words and those of Qāsāis, Gamblers, and Sāsīs is worth noting.

VOCABULARY.

STEALING.

chikāra, clod of earth.

cāmnā, watch (used also by gamblers in general).

chāpelnā, hide.

churm, thief.

gul launā, break through a house
(*san mārṇā*).

gaimī, theft (*cf.* Qasāi argot
gaimbī, theft, gaimbā, thief).

kalā, thief.

kuḍḍh, house.

kaiṅkar karṇā, strike with a clod
of earth.

kārki, stick.

lālī launā, steal (? *cf.* Sāsī lālī,
night, Arabic lāl).

litārā, confidant.

nēolā, throwing earth to warn
thief.

nēodī, theft.

paintrī, shoes (left outside), *cf.*
Sāsī paunī.

thipṇā, hide oneself.

tōmbū, weapon for breaking into a
house.

Poisoning.

chaggī, a short stick with poison-
ing iron point affixed.

dhārki, knife.

ganḍ dēṇa, kill.

gōlī, poison ball.

lānjī, a small chaggī (see above)
which may be concealed in
the hand.

rukḥm, professional poisoner.

tīārī, poison.

thīmā, poison.

Human Beings.

bhātū, Sāsī *cf.* Sāsī bhattū.

ghirbalā, Musalmān.

kajjā, Jāt used also for Europeans
and others (a word used by
Sāsīs).

kūtrā, boy (*kūtrī*, girl).
rārkā, Hindū.
tōmī, feminine of Ghirbalā.
rūṅgā, *rēṅṇā* and *rī*, all Cūḥrā.

Animals.

ardlī, buffalo.
bad, pig (used also by other Paujābis).
cailī, little goat, kid.
kaṭṭī, cow.
khanjalā, buffalo.
kurmā, horse.
kōrtā,
khutringā, } donkey.
rēwal, dog.

Food eating, etc.

dhīmā, gur (Sāsi *dhālā*).
guls, lassi.
hundak, food.
kundṇā, eat.
mītkā, gur.
nibal, ghi.
nirkā, water.
pakhsat, food, roṭī.
tilmṇā, eat.

Carrion, etc.

anjāla, heart.
āndrā, entrails.
baillī, fat remains.
bukkā, part of the side.
caura, thigh.
cūl, lower half upper fore leg.
ḍīṭhā, carrion.
ghērā, part of entrails.
ghanērī, upper part of side.
giclī, flesh round kneejoint.
janmū, upper half lower hind leg.
jagar, carrion.

kaunā, back of neck.
kāṇā, upper half, upper hind leg.
kangī, part of lumbar vertebrae.
khānjarā, carrion.
khurārā, flesh on front part of lower half of leg.
kōhlī, breast.
liprā skin, cloth (in Qasāi's argot *liprī* = skin).
lukrā, the part along the spine.
maddar, thigh.
morā, pieces of breast.
minj, fat.
miny, brain.
murkan, part of shoulder.
nēṭrī, fat.
patrī, lumber vertebrae.
pōtā, round about anus.
phar, shoulder.
paṭṭhā, small of back.
rukṛā, part of side.
sundī, an oblong narrow slice of meat.
surkayg, lower half of lower leg.
ṭikiyā, upper half, upper fore leg.
totīā, upper half, lower fore leg.
gōlū, lower half, upper hind leg.
turī, soup (connected with Urdū tar, wet).
lās, soup.

General.

almnī = kind of cow = sickness.
ābrṇa, come, arrive (cf. Sāsi *asrṇā*, Qasāi *aparnā*, Panj. *aparnā*).
burkṇā, huqqa (used also by Sāsi).
beṭ kūl, keep quiet ('shut up,' used also by Sāsis. See *kūḷa*).
bagēlā, money, rupee (cf. Sāsi *bagēlī* = eight anna bit).
bhīmṭā, rupee (used by gamblers in general).

dhāṇḍā, evil, worthless, bad.

ghasāi, lucifer match.

harjīyā, paisa, pice.

kathāṇā, say. It is noteworthy that the Panjābī words *gal*, *katth*, *bāt* (all meaning 'word' 'matter') have a verb formed from each of them. But while *batāṇā* is used in Panjābī proper, *kathāṇā* is used among by Cūhrās, and *galāṇā* is found among hill people in the direction of Camba.

kūlṇā, do (used also by Sāsīs).

kērmṇā, kill.

ḥaurṇā, huqqa.

kōkā, intrigue.

ōthṇā, beat, kill (Sāsī *lōhṇā*, Kash-

mīri lāyun, cf. Urdū *laganā*,

Panjābī *lauṇā*).

lugṇā, die (used by Sāsīs).

nēpaṇṇā, seize (Panj. *napaṇā*, *napṇā*).

nūkarṇā accuse.

nūkar, accusation.

pōlṇā, come, go.

palwā, side (cf. Urdū *pahlū*).

pachikkā, bad, ugly.

sairṇā, give.

sōhwā, fine, fat.

tōmā, fine fat.

thēlā, ornament worn round neck.

ṭēlṇā, give.

ṭēlnī, turban.

Three Documents relating to the History of Ladakh: Tibetan Text, Translation and Notes.—By the late Dr. KARL MARX, Moravian Missionary at Leh, Ladakh.

[Read 4th December, 1901.]

Introductory remark by the Rev. Professor Gustaf Dalman, D.D., Ph.D., Leipzig, Germany.

Under the above title, in Vol. LX, of this Journal, pp. 97-135, and Vol. LXIII, pp. 94-107, translations and partly texts have been published from three manuscripts, once in the hands of the late Dr. Karl Marx. But the main part of the third document (called C-MS.) was still wanting. Now I am so happy to be able to put even this end of the history of Ladakh before the readers of this Journal. *Mrs. Theodora A. Francke*, of Leh, sister-in-law of Dr. Karl Marx, has completed the work by giving the translation of C-MS. from the point, where the history of Ladakh was left in the last publication. The whole of C-MS. is preceding this translation.*

English translation.—By MRS. THEODORA A. FRANCKE.

Then the Wazir on his way back left the Ladakhi boundaries. During winter the Ladakhi king and his ministers made the following bad plan: "We shall not keep to our former promise, according to which we are to send taxes, but we shall begin war (send soldiers)!"

* In Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. II, February 1902, p. 30, my name is mentioned in connection with the publication of the late Dr. Marx's three Documents relating to the History of Ladakh! This is a greater honor than I deserve. Our thanks for this publication are entirely due to Dr. Marx. Even as regards the third MS. (C-MS.) published in this number of the journal, the preparation of the Tibetan text is his own. The language of C-MS. is not exactly that described in my Ladakhi grammar, ante, Vol. LXX, part I, Extra Vol. 1901. The language of my grammar is that of daily life whilst that of C-MS. is the style of modern Ladakhi letter-writing, which leans more or less towards the classical language. Because a summary of the first part of C-MS. has already been given in Vol. LXIII, mostly on pages 106 and 107, the accompanying translation gives only the second part of C-MS.

A. H. Francke.

Next year the Wazir quite suddenly, coming through *Balldar* arrived in *Zangskar*. Then he went through *Kharnag* and *Shang* with his soldiers and arrived at *Leh* before anybody knew of it.

The (old) king's son, the king *Chogsprul*, went through *Drangtse* and *Wamle* to *Spiti*; one or two months later *Chogsprul* died there.

Chogsprul's first wife's son was *Jigsméd-choskyi-senge-migyurkunga-nambar-gyalwai-Lha*.

The second wife's son, who is now living at *Mashro*, was *Stun-shrung-yurgyal*.

Then the Wazir sent the (old) king *Dondrub-Namgyal* out of the castle, took all the treasures and riches and ordered the *Leh* minister *Ngorub-Standzin* to be proclaimed king. He also built the old *kila* (fort) at *Skara* near *Leh* and made the *Tanadhar Magna* and *Janda-Sing* captains. There he left altogether 250 men.

Ngorub-Standzin the *Raja* had to issue all orders and to send the taxes, amounting to 18,000 Rupees, without fail to the *Maharaja*. The Wazir himself and the other soldiers took the father-king, *Bangkhapa* and other noblemen, about 20-30, along with them to fight against *Baltistan*.

After having fought against the *Baltis* he (the Wazir) took all *Baltistan* and returned home. He sent the father-king back to *Leh* together with the *Ladakhi* noblemen.

The noble father-king was seized by small-pox in *Baltistan* and half-way back he died. His body was burned (given to the fire) at *Stock*.

Then the *Raja Ngorub-Standzin* reigned for three to four years. He sent the taxes to *Jammu*; but as he did not agree with *Magna*, the *Tanadhar*, the latter wrote, calumniating him, to the Wazir.

Therefore after four years the Wazir came again to *Leh* with his soldiers; he sent the *Raja* out of the castle and said, that the taxes had not been paid satisfactorily, and that he would punish him severely. "Now I am going to make war with *Tibet*, and you will have to go with me!" But when the *Raja* replied: "I would rather die than go!" The Wazir became very angry and imprisoned the *Raja* in the fort.

Noble young *Sodnam, Sgolam Khan* of *Chushod*, the minister of *Basgo* and many other *Ladakhi* noblemen he took along with him up to *Ngari-sgorsum* to the war.

He (the Wazir) made the *Tanadhar Miya* responsible for the Government (all the orders) of *Ladakh* and *Meta Basti Ram* was sent to fight against *Rutog* with five hundred soldiers. *Basti Ram* fought against *Rutog* and took it.

The Wazir went off with seven thousand men through *Gar*. He

fought and gradually got as far as *Purangs*. At a place called *Purangs-toyo* the Wazir threw up trenches. At the same time the Tibetans also arrived at *Purangs*. In the castle of *Purangs* called *Dagla* there were about one hundred and fifty *Dogras*. Against those the Tibetans fought and killed several; some had to flee, and when the Tibetans attacked the castle, they took it.

Then the Wazir fought several times during a month and a half in a desultory way. One day, after that time, the Tibetan warriors, with their officers and all fighting men, made a desperate (not caring for death or life) attack at daybreak on the Wazir's trenches.

About noon one of the Tibetan bullets hit the Wazir's left shoulder and the Wazir fell down from his horse (on the ground). The Wazir still held a sword in his right hand. The Tibetans knowing that the Wazir had been hit (by a bullet), not minding their lives (speak of dying), attacked the Wazir's trenches. Then one of the Tibetan horsemen ran to the Wazir and meeting him, pointed his spear at (the borders of) the Wazir's heart, thrust the spear and the Wazir died.

When the sun was near setting, the Wazir's trench was destroyed. They (the Tibetans) killed as many *Dogras* as they could and took as many prisoners as possible. Many of the *Dogras* fled, firing backwards towards the Tibetans (hereto).

Then when the Tibetans had taken some men prisoners, they went back to their own camp. The next morning the Tibetans sent to *Lhasa* by a post all the details about the Wazir's death and how his head (and neck) had been cut off and so on.

On the following day, the Tibetans imprisoned all whom they had seized, among them the *Ladakhi* minister of *Basgo*, the young noble *Sodnams*, the noble *Sgolamkhan* of *Ohushod*, besides 18 men and 30 *Dogra* officers and men. One hundred Tibetans accompanied them on their way towards Tibet.

The Tibetan army went as far as *Gar* with its General to try the prisoners. After one month they went back to Tibet. One officer with 300 soldiers remained at *Gar* for one year.

The *Dogras* who had fled arrived at *Leh*; so did those who were in *Rutog*, when they heard of the Wazir's death.

After one or two years the *Ladakhis* rebelled against the *Dogras*, summoning for war Lower and Upper *Ladakh*, *Nubra*, *Baltistan* and *Khapulu*. All these together sent about two thousand five hundred soldiers. They blockaded the *kila* and the *Chaon* (fort) at *Leh*. In the *kila* (fort) there was the *Tanadhar Magna*, and about 50 *Dogras*, and in the *Chaon* fort there was a *Komidhan* and about 300 *Dogra* soldiers.

The *Ladakhis* made their trenches surrounding the two forts.

For one month, they had only little fighting. Then there arrived a Tibetan, called *Pishi*, who was the head of the bowmen, together with about 100 men, to assist the *Ladakhis*. He took up his quarters in the *Leh*-castle.

After that, there arrived from Kashmir *Dewan Harichand* and the Wazir *Ratun*, together with about 7,000 men, marching towards *Ladakh*.

When people at *Leh* heard that the *Dewan* and the army had reached *Khalatse*, they all held a council and agreed on fleeing, because *Dewan Harichand* had so many soldiers, cannons, etc., with him.

The king and minister and the chief of the bowmen fled in the direction of the upper *Indus* valley, together with one hundred men. The *Ladakhi* soldiers fled to their own villages.

After two days the *Dewan* and the Wazir arrived at *Leh* with their men. They destroyed all the idols that were in the castle and monastery, not leaving even a single one.

The king, the minister and the men, accompanying them, had reached *Drangtse-lungs-Yogma*.

The day after this, more soldiers from Tibet arrived at *Lungs-yogma*, together with the minister *Ragasha* and *Zurkhang*, chief of the bowmen, accompanied by 3,000 men. When they all were assembled, they digged trenches.

The *Dewan* and the Wazir also took their men with them and going north, arrived at *Dorkhug*.

There the Tibetans heard a rumour (about their arrival). Then the chief of the bowmen, *Zurkhang*, together with one thousand soldiers, went and fought against the *Dogras* at *Dorkhug*.

During the first battle on the plateau of *Dorkhug* about 30 *Dogras* were killed, and *Zurkhang*, the head of the bowmen, returned to *Lungsyogma*; then the *Dewan* and the soldiers also went to *Lungs-Yogma*.

There were two hills on either side of the water. The *Dewan* and the Wazir divided their army and had their camps on these two hills. As the Tibetans had made their trenches on the plateau, there was no fighting until the Tibetans came out from behind their walls.

The *Dewan* and the Wazir with their men, working in turns, dammed up the water in the valley. As the Tibetans could not remain in the middle of the water, they were obliged to come out from their trenches and flee; so, they were conquered.

Then the *Dogras* seized all those Tibetans that were left and took them to *Leh*.

The Tibetan minister *Ragasha*, and some of the army who waited, were killed by the *Dogras*.

The minister *Zurkhang* and the chief of the bowmen, called *Pishi*, both were also seized and taken to *Leh*.

The Tibetans and Dogras lived in peace (good order) without any war ever since; the annual trade going on as before according to the contract made (with the Dogras).

The Tibetan minister *Zurkhang* and *Pishi*, the head of the bowmen, then went back both being the leaders of the Tibetan army.

The *Dewan Harichand* re-installed all the Tibetan ministers and promised to establish again the *Ladakhi* king and queen with their court.

From *Gangsri* in Tibet there used to be given several men as servants to the *Ladakhi* king which he (the king) gave into the hands of the *Dewan Harichand* and the Wazir, and then went to his castle.

Not to a single nobleman the power, which he had possessed during the old king's reign, was left. But the *Dewan Harichand* and the Wazir said: "Only the minister *Rigdzin*, who was the servant of the late Wazir *Zorawar*, who died at *Purangs*, shall remain for ever, what he was before: the servant of the Government!" and transmitted to him all the Government work of *Ladakh*.

Then the *Dewan* and the Wazir both took the *Ladakhi* noblemen, among whom there were the *Leh* minister *Ngorub Standzin*, *Ajo Gonpo*, *Lhadugtsring-stobgyes*, along with them and returned to *Jammu*.

In *Ladakh* they left the minister *Rigdzin* and *Magna* the *Tunadhar*, together with the soldiers in the *kila* fort.

I think, it is all true, which has been said, from the first page to this.

༡༡ བ་དམག་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་བཞུགས་སོ།༡༡

ཨིན་མ་ལོ་མང་མ་འབྲངས་པར་བླ་ཟེར་གྱི་ལོ་རིམ་ཟོར་བླར་དམག་
མི་རྩོད་སྐབས་ཅམ་ཁྲིད་ནས། ཀམ་ཏ་བླར་བླ་དན་མན་འདེ་རྒྱུད་ཐུ་བ་ལ་ཐོན།
དེ་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོས་དེ་གསན་ནས་ལ་དྲགས་ཁོངས་ན་དམག་སྐུལ་བྱས་ནས། དམག་
མི་དགུ་བརྒྱ་ཅམ་དང་དོག་པ་བཀའ་ཁྲོན་དམག་བགོ་བྱས་ཤིང་ཕུ་རིག་དགར་རྩེ་

ཅུ་དམག་ལ་བཏངས། དེ་ནས་དོག་པ་བཀའ་སློན་དམག་མི་དང་བཅས་དཀར་ཅེ་
 ཅུ་བསྐྱེབས། ཡང་ཕྱ་རིག་ཁོངས་ན་ཡང་དམག་མི་ལྔ་བརྒྱ་ཅས་བསྐྱེས། །དཀར་
 ཅེ་ལང་མཁར་ཅེ་ཅུ་སིང་དམག་དང་ལ་དྲགས་པ་འདི་དམག་མི་བཅས་ཀྱིས་ཕན་
 རྟན་དམག་སྐར་བཏབ་ནས། * ཉི་མ་བཙུ་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་རིང་ལ་ཕན་རྟན་འཐབ་རེས་
 ལྔ་ཅས་བཏངས། ལ་དྲགས་པ་སྟད་ཆེ་བ་ཅས་བྱུང་ནས་སིང་པ་མང་བ་བསད།
 དེའི་རིང་ལ་ལ་དྲགས་སྟོན་གཤམ་ལྷུ་མ་ར་བཅས་ནས་ཀྱང་དམག་སྟོན་བསྐྱེལ་
 ནས། དམག་མི་ལྔ་བརྒྱ་ཅས་དང་། དམག་དཔོན་ལ་སྟེལ་སྟོན་པོ་དངོས་གྲུབ་
 བསྟན་འཛིན་དང་། བང་ཁ་པ་བཅས་ཉིན་མཚན་མེད་པར་ཕྱ་རིག་ལ་དམག་སྟོན་ལ་
 བཏངས་ནས། ཁོང་རྣམས་ཉིན་གཅིག་གིས་ལང་མཁར་ཅེ་ལ་མ་བསྐྱེབས་ཏེ།
 དམག་མགོ་དོག་པ་བཀའ་སློན་ལ་སིང་པ་འདི་ཏུ་རྒྱག་ཕོག་ནས་གྲོངས་པས། ལ་
 དྲགས་པ་འདི་དམག་མི་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་སྟོན་ཅིག་ཀྱང་སྟད་མ་ཐུབ་པར་སོ་སོར་གར་
 སོང་མེད་པར་ཤོར། །ཕྱ་རིག་པ་དམག་མི་དང་ལ་དྲགས་པ་དམག་མི་བཅས་ལྔ་
 བརྒྱ་དྲུག་བརྒྱ་ཅས་ཞིག་ཤོར་ནས་སང་ཉིན་ལྔ་ཕོག་ལ་དྲགས་ཀྱི་དམག་སྟོན་ལ་
 སོང་པ་འདི་སྟེལ་སྟོན་པོ་དངོས་གྲུབ་བསྟན་འཛིན་ཅར་བསྐྱེབས་ནས། སིང་དམག་
 མང་བ་ཡོད་ཚུལ་དང་། དོག་པ་བཀའ་སློན་གྲོངས་ཚུལ་དང་། དམག་མི་རྣམས་
 གར་སོང་མེད་པར་ཤོར་ཚུལ་རྣམས་ཞིབ་པར་བྱས། །སྟེལ་སྟོན་པོ་དང་བང་ཁ་པ་
 གཉིས་ཀྱི་བསམ་པ་ལ་སིང་དམག་མང་བས་འཐབ་ན་མི་ཐུབ། ཕྱི་འགྲོས་བྱས་ན་
 རྒྱལ་པོའི་བཀའ་བརྒྱུན་འཕོག་པར་བསམ་ཞིང་། དེ་ཉིན་ཅི་བྱེད་པར་དགོས་མ་
 ཤེས་པར་དོར་བྱས། །སིང་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱང་ཐུང་སྐར་ཡོད་པའི་ས་གནས་ནས་
 རྩེ་གོས་གང་ཡང་ཡོང་མ་ཐུབ་པར་འདུག་ནས། ཀྱིར་སོ་སྟོང་སྟག་བཙུ་བྱ་

གཏང་ན་འདི་ནས་ཕྱིར་ལོག་འགྲོངས་ཟེར་ནས་ལྷ་ཟེར་གྱིས་པོ་ཉ་ཞིག་ལ་དཔགས་
 པའི་དཔག་ཁྲོད་དུ་བཏང་ནས། པོ་ཉ་དེ་སླེལ་སློན་པོ་དང་བང་ཁ་པ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཙུང་
 བསྐྱེབས་ནས། ཀྱིར་མོ་ཕྱོང་ཕྱག་བཙུ་ལྷ་གཏང་ན་ཕྱིར་ལོག་འགྲོ་རྒྱུ་ལྷ་ཆ་
 ཚང་ས་བཤད། །སླེལ་སློན་པོ་དང་བང་ཁ་པ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བསམས་པ་ལ་འཐབ་ན་མི་
 ཐུབ་པ་འདུག་དེ་བས་དཔུལ་གཏོང་དགོས་འདུང་ཡང་ལས་སླེ་བ་འདུག་བསམ་སྟེ།
 དེ་ལྟར་གྱི་ལྷ་ཤོག་བང་མི་དྭ་བ་ཞོན་དང་མཉམ་ཉིན་ཕྱོས་མེད་དུ་ཐུད། ཡང་རྒྱལ་
 པོ་ལ་ལྷ་ཤོག་སྤུལ་བའི་རྒྱ་མཚན་དང་བཅས་ལྷ་ཟེར་ལ་པོ་ཉ་ཕྱིར་ལོག་བཏངས།
 དེ་བར་པན་རྩྭ་འཐབ་རེས་མེད་པར་འདུགས། །སླེལ་སློན་པོས་སྤུལ་བའི་བང་
 མི་དང་ལྷ་ཤོག་བཅས་སླེལ་དུ་རྒྱལ་པོའི་དུང་དུ་ཉིན་གཅིག་ལ་བྱོར་བས། རྒྱལ་
 པོས་ལྷ་ཤོག་ལ་ཞིབ་པར་གཟིགས་ནས། སླེལ་པོར་གྱི་སྐྱེ་བྱ་ནམས་དང་གཟུང་
 བྱོས་བྱས་ཏེ། ལྷ་ཟེར་ལ་དཔུལ་བཏང་རྒྱུར་རྒྱལ་སློན་ཐམས་ཅད་གྱི་ཐུགས་ལ་
 བབ་ནས། སླེལ་མཁར་གྱི་གཏོར་མཚོ་དྭ་ཀ་བཅུ་པ་ནས་རྩོམ་གྱིར་མོ་ཕྱོང་ཕྱག་
 བཙུ་ལྷ་འི་པིང་བས། རྒྱལ་པོས་དེ་གསན་ནས་དཔུལ་གཏོང་བ་མི་ཉན་མོལ་ནས།
 རྒྱལ་པོ་དབང་ཆེ་ལྷ་བས་གྱིས་དཔུལ་གཏོང་དུ་མ་བཅུག་སྟེ། རྒྱལ་པོས་བང་མི་
 ཕྱིར་ལོག་མཉམ་སླེལ་སློན་པོ་དང་བང་ཁ་པ་གཉིས་ལ་བྲིད་རང་ནམས་གྱིས་སིང་
 པ་དང་འཐབ་ནས། ཟོར་ལྷར་གྱི་མགོ་དང་ལག་པ་འཁྱོང་དགོས། དེ་མ་འཁྱོང་
 ཆོ་བྲིད་རང་གཉིས་ཀྱི་མགོ་སླེ་དང་གཏང་ངེས་ཀྱི་བཀའ་བཀྱོན་དང་བཅས་བཀའ་
 ལན་གནད་བས། ཉིན་གཅིག་གི་རིང་ལ་བང་མི་དང་བཀའ་ཤོག་བཅས་ཁོང་གཉིས་
 ཀྱི་ཙུང་བྱོར་ནས། བཀའ་ཤོག་ནང་བཀའ་བཀྱོན་མ་གཏོགས་མེད་པས་བྱ་ཐབས་
 སྤུལ་ཞིང་། ཁོང་གཉིས་པོའི་བྱོས་ནང་ན་སིང་པ་དང་འཐབ་པར་མི་ལུས་པ་འདུག་

བསམ་ནས། ཕྱི་འགྲོས་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ཐག་བཅད་ནས། ལྷ་ཟིང་ལ་ལན་གསལ་ཅས་
 ཡང་ས་བཤང་བར་དཔག་མི་དང་བཅས་ཕྱིར་ལོག་ཡོངས། ། ལྷ་ཟིང་གྱིས་ལ་
 དྲགས་ཀྱི་དཔག་མི་ནམས་ཕྱིར་ལོག་སོང་བ་ཚོར་ནས། ལྷ་ཟིང་ཡང་ཚུར་ཡོངས།
 ལ་དྲགས་ཀྱི་དཔག་མི་ནམས་ཉི་མ་གཉིས་རེའི་སྡོན་ལ་ཚུར་ཡོངས། ། ལྷ་ཟིང་
 དང་དཔག་མི་ནམས་ཀྱང་ཉི་མ་གཉིས་རེའི་རྩེ་ས་བཅས་ཡོངས་ནས། རིས་པས་
 སླེལ་དུ་བསླེབས། དེ་བར་ལྷ་ཟིང་ལ་འཐབ་མི་ས་གཏོགས་མེ་མདའ་གཅིག་ཀྱང་
 རྒྱབ་མི་ས་བྱང་བར་སླེལ་དུ་བསླེབས་ཏེ། སླེལ་ཀར་བཟོ་བྲག་ནང་དུ་དཔག་བྱང་
 བཤང་ནས་དེར་འདུགས། ། དེ་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་བྱ་ཐབས་མེད་པར་སོང་ནས་ལྷ་
 ཟིང་ལ་སྐོ་དགས། ཡང་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཀར་བཟོ་ལ་ལྷ་ཟིང་ལ་ས་ལྡས་ལ་ཕེབས།
 ལྷ་ཟིང་གིན་ཏུ་འཐད་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་གདོང་བསྐྱུས་བྱས་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ས་ལྡས་
 སྡོན་དུ་བྱས། དེ་ནས་པན་ཚུན་གཉིས་འགྲིག་ནས། ལ་དྲགས་རྒྱལ་སྤིང་དང་
 ཅི་ཡོད་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་རང་བྱག་བྱས་ཤིང་། ལྷ་རྒྱལ་པོ་སྤྱི་
 ལ་ལ་དྲགས་ནས་ལོ་རེ་བཞིན་འབབ་ཀྱིར་སོ་སྡོང་སྐྱག་དགྲའི་ལོ་རྒྱུར་འཆག་མེད་
 འབྱལ་རྒྱ་བྱས་ཏེ། ཆད་དོན་བཅན་པོ་བྱས་པས་ལྷ་ཟིང་དཔག་མི་དང་བཅས་
 ཕྱིར་ལོག་སོང་། * ། དེ་ནས་ལྷ་ཟིང་ལ་དྲགས་ཀྱི་ས་མཚམས་ནས་ཕྱིར་ལོག་
 སོང་ཚར་བ་དང་། དགུན་ཐོག་ལ་དྲགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་སྡོན་ནམས་ཀྱིས་གྲོས་ངན་བྱས་
 བས། སྡོན་འབབ་གཏོང་རྒྱུའི་ཆད་དོན་ལ་ས་གནས་པར་འབབ་ས་བཀལ་བར་
 དཔག་བཤང་རྒྱ་བྱས་ནས་བཞུགས། ། ཕྱི་ལོར་ལྷ་ཟིང་ཏུན་མེད་ལ་བལ་ལྷ་རྒྱུད་
 ནས་ཟངས་དཀར་ལ་བེང་། དེ་ནས་མཁར་ནག་དང་ཤང་རྒྱུད་ནས་དཔག་མི་དང་
 བཅས་ཐོན་ཏེ་ཡོངས་ནས། སྐུས་ཀྱང་ས་ཚོར་བར་སླེལ་དུ་བསླེབས། ། རྒྱལ་

བོད་སྐད་ཀྱི་པོ་མཆོག་སྐུ་བྱེད་ཅེ་ནས་ལྷ་མ་ལེ་གྱུར་སྤྱི་ཉི་ལ་ཤོར་ནས་བསྐྱེད།
 རྒྱ་བགའི་གཞིས་དེར་བཞུགས་ནས་མཆོག་སྐུ་བྱེད་ས། མཆོག་སྐུ་བྱེད་ཀྱི་པོ་
 མེ་ཅེ་བའི་སྐུ་ནི་འཛིགས་མེད་ཆོས་ཀྱི་སེའུ་མི་འབྱུང་ཀུན་དགའ་ནས་བར་
 གྱུ་བའི་ལྷ་དང་། གྱུ་བོ་ཆུང་བའི་སྐུ་ནི་རྩ་མང་སྐོ་གྱུ་བོ་བཅུན་སྐྱེད་
 གཤུ་གྱུ་བ་ལགས། །དེ་ནས་ལྷ་མོ་ལྱིས་གྱུ་བོ་དོན་གྱུ་བ་ནས་གྱུ་བ་ལམ་ར་
 ནས་ལམ་ལྷེ་གཏེར་མཛོད་དང་ནོར་ཡོད་ཆོད་ཁྱེར་དེ། གྱུ་བོར་སྐྱེལ་སྐྱོན་པོ་
 དངོས་གྱུ་བ་བཅུན་འཛོན་གྱུ་བོ་བྱས་ནས་ཁྲིལ་བཅུགས། མིང་ལ་རྩ་དངོས་
 གྱུ་བ་བཅུན་འཛོན་འབོད་དུ་བཅུག །དེ་ནས་སྐྱེལ་དགའ་རའི་ཀྱི་ལྷ་ཉིང་པ་
 བཅོགས་ནས། ལག་ན་ཐ་ན་དར་དང་། རྩ་ཏ་མིང་གཞིས་དཔག་ལགོ་བྱས་དེ།
 དཔག་མི་སྤྱོད་དང་སྐུ་བ་གྱུ་དང་བཅས་སུ་བཞག །རྩ་དངོས་གྱུ་བ་བཅུན་
 འཛོན་གྱུ་བོ་བྱས་དེ། ཏུ་ཀུ་མ་ཅི་ཡོད་རྩ་ལ་བཅད་ནས། ཡོ་ལྷ་འབབ་ཀྱིར་
 མོ་སྤོང་བྲག་བཙོ་བཀྱད་འཆག་མེད་མ་ཏ་རྩ་ལ་འབུལ་གྱུ་བྱས། །ལྷ་མོ་ལྱིས་
 དཔག་མི་ནམས་དང་ལྷ་མོ་གྱུ་བོ་དང་བཅས་པ་དང་གཞན་ཡང་མི་བྲག་ཆོས་ཉི་
 །ཀྱུ་མ་ཆུ་ཅས་ཁྲིད་ནས། སྐུ་ཏི་ལྷ་ལ་དཔག་ཁྲིད་དེ། དེ་ནས་སྐུ་ཏི་དང་
 འཐབ་ནས་སྐུ་ཏི་སྐྱབས་མས་ཅད་ལོན་ནས་སྤྱིར་ལོག་སོང་། ཡང་ལྷ་མོ་གྱུ་བོ་
 དང་ལ་དུགས་པ་དུགས་རིགས་ནམས་སྐྱེལ་དུ་སྤྱིར་ལོག་བཅད་ས། །ལྷ་མོ་གྱུ་བོ་
 མཆོག་ལ་སྐུ་ཏི་ལྷ་ཏུ་འབུལ་བ་བསྐྱེད་ནས་རྩ་མང་མེབས་དེ་ལས་བར་ལ་
 བྱོངས་ནས་སྐུ་ཏི་ཀྱུ་མེ་ལ་བྱུལ། །དེ་ནས་རྩ་དངོས་གྱུ་བ་བཅུན་འཛོན་པོ་
 གཤུ་མ་བཞི་འུ་དུ་གྱུ་བོ་བྱས་ཤིང་། འཇམ་མུ་ལ་འབབ་ཀྱང་བགལ་གྱིན་
 ཡོད་པ་ལས་ལག་ན་ཐ་ན་དར་དང་རྩ་མི་འཆག་པའི་ཀྱེན་གྱིས་ཐ་ན་དར་གྱིས་ལྷ་

ཟེར་ལ་སྟན་པ་མང་པོ་གྱིས་པར་བརྟན་ནས། ལོ་བཞི་ཤི་རྗེས་སུ་ཡང་ལྷ་ཟེར་
 དམག་མི་དང་བཅས་སྟེལ་དུ་ཡོངས་ནས། ར་རྩ་མཁར་ནས་པ་བ་མེ། འབབ་མ་
 ཚང་ཟེར་ནས་ཆད་པ་མང་པོ་ཡིན་ནས། བོད་ལ་དམག་འབྱེར་གྱི་ཡིན་ཏེ་དང་
 འགྲོ་དགོས་ཟེར་ས། ། ར་རྩ་ཡིས་ད་ཤི་ནའང་མི་འགྲོ་ཟེར་བར་བརྟན་ནས་ལྷ་ཟེར་
 ཁྲིམ་ཏེ། ར་རྩ་གྱི་ལུ་ཅུ་བཙོན་ལ་བཅུག་མེ། ། ཞོ་ནོ་བསོད་ནམས། ཟུ་ཤོད་པ་སྟོ་
 ལམ་ཁན། བ་སྟོ་བཀའ་སྟོན་དང་གཞན་ཡང་ལ་དུགས་གྱི་དུགས་རིགས་མང་པོ་
 ཁྲིད་ནས། སྟོད་མངའ་རིས་སྟོར་གསུམ་ལ་དམག་བྱེར་ས། ལ་དུགས་གྱི་དུགས་
 ཐམས་ཅད་མི་ལྷ་མག་ན་ཐ་ན་དར་ལ་ཁག་བཀའ། ། ཡང་མེ་ཏ་ལྷས་ཏི་རམ་ལ་
 དམག་མི་ལྷ་བརྒྱ་ཅས་བཏང་ནས་ཅུ་ཐོག་ལ་དམག་ལ་བཏངས་ཏེ། ལྷས་ཏི་རམ་
 གྱིས་ཅུ་ཐོག་ལ་དམག་བཏང་ནས་ཅུ་ཐོག་ཡན་སོང་། ། ལྷ་ཟེར་གྱིས་དམག་མི་
 སྟོང་ཐུག་བདུན་དང་བཅས་སྟོར་གྱིད་ལ་དམག་འཐབ་བཏང་ནས། རིམ་པས་ལྷ་
 རང་ཐུག་བསྟེན་ས། ། ཡང་ལྷ་རང་ཏོ་ཡོ་ཟེར་བའི་གནས་སུ་ལྷ་ཟེར་གྱིས་དམག་
 སྟོར་བཏབ། ། དེ་དང་དུས་མཚུངས་པར་བོད་པའི་དམག་མི་ཡང་ལྷ་རང་དུ་
 བསྟེན་ནས། ལྷ་རང་དུག་ལ་མཁར་ལ་སིང་པའི་དམག་མི་ཕྱིད་དང་གཉིས་བརྒྱ་
 ཅམ་ཡོད་པས། དེ་ལ་བོད་པས་དམག་བཏང་ནས་སིང་པ་ཚོད་ཅིག་བསད། ཚོད་
 ཅིག་ཤོར་ནས་དུག་ལ་མཁར་ལ་བོད་པའི་དམག་ཚངས་ནས་བོད་པ་ལ་ཐོབ། དེ་
 བས་རིམ་བཞིན་ལྷ་པ་ཕྱིད་དང་གཉིས་གྱི་རིང་ལ་ལྷ་ཟེར་དང་འཐབ་རིས་མང་ཅམ་
 བཏངས། དེ་ནས་ལྷ་པ་ཕྱིད་དང་གཉིས་སོང་བ་དང་། ཉིན་ཅིག་ལ་བོད་དམག་
 རྣམས་གྱིས་ཤི་སྟོག་ལ་མ་ལྟ་བར་དམག་དཔོན་དང་དམག་ཅམ་ཡོད་ཉི་མ་ཅེ་ཤར་
 དང་ལྷ་ཟེར་གྱི་དམག་སྟོར་ལ་འཐབ་རིས་ཆེ་བ་བཏང་ནས། ཉི་མ་ཕྱིད་ཅམ་ལ་

རྒྱ་ཟེར་གྱི་དབྱང་ལག་གཡོན་པར་བོད་པའི་མེ་མདའ་ཕོག་པ་དང་། རྒྱ་ཟེར་ན་
 ཐོག་ནས་ས་ཁྱེད་དུ་རྒྱུད་། ད་ཅུང་ཡང་རྒྱ་ཟེར་གྱིས་ལག་གཡས་སུ་རལ་གྱི་ཁུར་
 ནས་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན། བོད་པ་ནམས་ཀྱིས་རྒྱ་ཟེར་ལ་མེ་མདའ་འཕོག་པར་གཤམ་ནས།
 ཤི་སྤྲས་བདུང་སྟེ་བོད་དམག་ནམས་ཀྱིས་རྒྱ་ཟེར་གྱི་དམག་སྐར་ནང་དུ་ཚངས་དེ།
 བོད་པའི་དྲ་དམག་ཅིག་གིས་མདུང་ཁུར་དེ་རྒྱ་ཟེར་གྱི་ཐད་དུ་བརྒྱགས་པ་དང་རྒྱ་
 ཟེར་དང་ཐུག་ནས། རྒྱ་ཟེར་གྱི་སྤྱིང་མཚམས་སུ་མདུང་བརྒྱབ་པས་རྒྱ་ཟེར་གྱི།
 དེ་ནས་ཉི་མ་གསལ་ཁུར་ལ་རྒྱ་ཟེར་གྱི་དམག་སྐར་ཆག །སིང་པ་བསད་ཐུབ་
 ཚད་བསད། བརྒྱུད་ཐུབ་ཚད་བརྒྱུད་། །ཅི་མང་ནམས་ཀྱིས་ཚུར་མེ་མདའ་
 འཕང་གིན་ཤོར། །དེ་ནས་བོད་པས་ཚོད་ཅིག་བརྒྱུད་ནས་ཁོང་རང་གི་དམག་
 བུང་དུ་ཡོག། །དེ་ཡི་སང་ཉིན་ལ་བོད་པས་རྩ་ས་ཅུ་རྒྱ་ཟེར་གྱི་ཚུལ་དང་མགོ་སྐྱེ་
 འེན་ཚུལ་སོགས་ཀྱི་གནས་ཚུལ་ཞིབ་པར་འདུག་ཐོག་ཏུ་བཏངས། ཡང་དེ་ཡི་ཐེས་
 མ་ཞག་ལ་བོད་པས་བརྒྱུད་པའི་མི་རིགས་ལ་དུགས་པ་བསྐོ་བཀའ་ལློན། ཅོ་ཅོ་
 བསོད་ནམས། རྒྱ་ཤོད་པ་ཐེ་སྐོ་ལམ་ཁན་དང་བཅས་པ་མི་བཙེ་བརྒྱད་ཅམ་དང་།
 སིང་པ་དཔོན་གཡོག་དང་དམག་མི་བཅས་མི་སྲུང་ཆུ་ཅམ། དེ་ནམས་བཙོན་པའི་
 ཚུལ་དུ་བྱས་ནས། བོད་དམག་བརྒྱ་སྟོར་གཅིག་དང་སྤྲག་ནས་བོད་དུ་ལམ་དུ་
 བརྒྱག། །ཡང་བོད་པ་དམག་དཔོན་དང་དམག་མི་ཡོད་ཚད་སྐར་ཐུག་ཅན་གཅོད་
 ལ་ཡོངས་ནས། སྐར་དུ་རྒྱ་བ་གཅིག་འདུག་ནས་བོད་ལ་ཕྱིར་ཡོག་སོང་། དམག་
 མི་སྲུང་བརྒྱ་དང་མདའ་དཔོན་གཅིག་བཅས་སྐར་དུ་ཡོ་གཅིག་གི་རིང་དུ་འདུག་
 སོང་། །སིང་པ་ཤོར་རིགས་ནམས་སྟེལ་དུ་བསྐུབས། །རྒྱ་ཟེར་གྱི་བའི་སྐར་
 ཆ་ཐོས་ནས་ཅུ་ཐོག་ན་ཡོད་པའི་དམག་མི་ནམས་ཀྱང་ཤོར་ནས་བསྐུབས། །དེ་

ནས་ཡང་ལོ་གཅིག་གཉིས་སོང་བ་དང་། ལ་རྒྱལ་ས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་དཔལ་བསྐྱེད་
 བས་སིང་བ་ལ་ངོ་ལོག་བྱས་ནས། ལ་རྒྱལ་ས་གཤམ་ཕྱོད་ལྷུ་མ་ར། སྤལ་ཏིཁ་
 སྤལ་ལྷ་བཙས་ཀྱི་དཔལ་མི་ཕྱོད་ཕྱག་ཕྱེད་དང་གསུམ་ཙམ་འཛོམ་ནས། སྤལ་ཀྱི་
 ལྷ་དང་། ཆ་ཨོན་གཉིས་ལ་འཐབ་ར་བཅུགས། ཀྱི་ལྷ་ན་མག་ན་ཐ་ན་དང་དང་
 བཙས་སིང་བ་ལྷ་བཅུ་ཙམ་དང་། ཆ་ཨོན་ན་ཀྱ་མི་དན་དང་སྤྱག་ནས་པལ་ཁན་སི་
 པ་སྤྲུལ་བརྒྱ་ཙམ་ཡོད་པས། དེ་གཉིས་ལ་མཐའ་བསྐྱོར་ནས་ལ་རྒྱལ་ས་པའི་
 དཔལ་བྱང་པ་བཞེ། རྒྱ་བ་གཅིག་གི་བར་དུ་འཐབ་རེས་ཁ་ཤས་པ་དངས། །པོད་
 བས་མདའ་དཔོན་པེ་ཤི་དང་བཙས་དཔལ་མི་བརྒྱ་སྟོར་ཙམ་ལ་རྒྱལ་ས་པའི་ར་
 མདའ་ལ་ཡོངས་ནས་སྤལ་མཁར་དུ་འདུགས། །དེ་མེས་ཁ་ཚལ་ཕྱོགས་ནས་རྩེ་
 རྩན་ཏེ་རི་ཚུན་དང་། རྒྱ་ཟེར་ར་རྩུན་གཉིས་བཙས་དཔལ་མི་ཕྱོད་ཕྱག་བརྒྱ་ཙམ་
 ཁྱིད་ནས་ལ་རྒྱལ་ས་ཕྱོགས་ལ་ཡོངས་ནས། དེ་ནས་རྩེ་རྩན་གྱི་དཔལ་མི་རྣམས་ཁ་
 ལ་ཅེ་ཅུ་བསྐྱེད་པས། །དེ་ལྟར་སྐད་ཆ་སྤལ་དུ་ཚོར་བས་ཐབས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་གྲོས་བྱས་
 བས། རྩེ་རྩན་དང་མཉམ་དུ་དཔལ་མི་དང་། ཏེ་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་ཡོད་པས། རྒྱལ་
 རྩོན་དང་པོད་པ་མདའ་དཔོན་དཔལ་མི་བརྒྱ་སྟོར་དང་བཙས་པ་རོང་ལམ་ཕྱོགས་
 ལ་ཤོར། དཔལ་མི་རྣམས་རང་རང་གི་ཡུལ་དུ་ཤོར། དེ་ནས་ཉི་མ་གཉིས་
 སོང་བ་དང་རྩེ་རྩན་རྒྱ་ཟེར་གཉིས་དཔལ་མི་དང་བཙས་སྤལ་དུ་བསྐྱེད་པས་ནས།
 མཁར་དང་དགོན་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་སྤྱུ་གསུང་ཐུགས་དེན་རྣམས་གཅིག་ཀྱང་ལུས་མེད་
 པ་ཤིགས། །ལ་རྒྱལ་ས་རྒྱལ་རྩོན་ཤོར་མི་རྣམས་གང་ཅའི་སྤྱངས་ཡོག་མར་
 བསྐྱེད་པས། །དེའི་མེས་མ་ཞག་ལ་པོད་པའི་དཔལ་ག་རྩོན་བཀའ་རྩོན་ར་གྲ་ཤ་དང་
 མདའ་དཔོན་རྒྱར་ཁང་གཉིས་དང་བཙས་དཔལ་མི་ཕྱོད་ཕྱག་གསུམ་སྤྱངས་ཡོག་

མར་བསྐྱེབས་ཏེ། རེར་ཐམས་ཅད་འཛིན་ནས། རེར་དམག་སྐར་བཏབ་ནས་
 འདུག ། རྩེ་ཤུན་དང་ཤུ་ཟེར་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་དམག་མི་ནམས་ཁྲིད་ནས་བྱང་ཕྱོགས་
 གྱུད་རོར་ཁྱུག་ཏུ་བསྐྱེབས། ། བོད་པ་ནམས་ཀྱིས་སྐད་ཆ་དེ་ཐོས་ནས་མདའ་
 དཔོན་རྒྱུ་ཁང་དང་། དམག་མི་སྟོང་ལྷག་གཅིག་བཅས་རོར་ཁྱུག་ཏུ་སིང་པ་དང་
 འཐབ་པར་བཏངས་ནས། རོར་ཁྱུག་ཐང་ལ་འཐབ་རེས་གཅིག་སོང་བས་སིང་པ་
 ཟུམ་ཅུ་སྟོར་བསད་ནས། མདའ་དཔོན་དང་དམག་མི་ནམས་ཕྱིར་ལོག་ཁྲུངས་
 ཡོག་མར་ཡོངས། རེ་ནས་རྩེ་ཤུན་དང་དམག་མི་ནམས་ཁྲུངས་ཡོག་མར་བྱོར་
 བས། རྩེ་པམ་ཚུན་གྱི་རི་རྟོག་གཉིས་ཡོད་པས། རི་དེ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཁར་རྩེ་ཤུན་དང་།
 ཤུ་ཟེར་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་སོ་སོར་བགོས་ནས་དམག་བྱང་བཏབ་ནས་འདུག ། བོད་
 དམག་ནམས་ཐང་དུ་དམག་སྐར་བཏབ་ནས་ཡོད་པས། བོད་པས་ཕྱིར་ཐོན་ནས་
 འཐབ་ལ་མ་བྱས། ། རྩེ་ཤུན་ཤུ་ཟེར་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་རེས་མོ་བྱས་ནས་སིང་པ་རི་
 ཡམ་བྱེད་ལ་རོང་བཀག་བཅུག་ནས་རྩེ་བསྐྱེལ། ། བོད་པ་རི་དམག་ནམས་རྩེ་
 དཀྱིལ་དུ་འདུག་པར་མ་བྱུབ་པས། དམག་སྐར་ནས་ཕྱི་ཡོག་ཏུ་ཤོར་དགོས་བྱུང་
 བས། བོད་དམག་པས། ། རེ་ནས་བོད་དམག་ལུས་རིགས་ཚང་མ་སིང་པས་
 བརྩམ་ཉེ་སྤེལ་དུ་བསྐྱེབས། བོད་པ་བཀའ་སྟོན་ར་གྲུ་ཤ་དང་ཡམ་བྱེད་ལ་ལ་
 འགོར་ནས་སིང་པས་བསད། བཀའ་སྟོན་རྒྱུ་ཁང་དང་མདའ་དཔོན་པི་ཤི་
 གཉིས་ཀྱང་བརྩམ་ནས་སྤེལ་དུ་བསྐྱེབས། ། རེ་ནས་བོད་པ་དང་སིང་པ་གཉིས་
 འདི་ནས་ཕྱིན་དུ་བཟང་བྲལ་སོང་ནས། འཐབ་མོ་མེད་པར་སྤར་བཞིན་ལོ་ཕྱག་པ་
 དང་། གཞུང་གཞིང་ཆད་བྱས་ནས་བོད་ཀྱི་བཀའ་སྟོན་རྒྱུ་ཁང་དང་མདའ་དཔོན་
 པི་ཤི་གཉིས་ཀྱི་གཙོ་བཙས་བོད་དམག་ནམས་བོད་ལ་ཕྱིར་ལོག་སོང་། ། རྩེ་ཤུན་

ཉ་རི་ཅན་གྱིས་བོད་པ་བཀའ་ཁྲོན་ནས་དང་ལ་དཔག་ས་ཀྱི་ལ་པོ་ཀྱི་ལ་མོ་སྐྱེ་འཁོར་
 ཚང་ས་ཕྱིར་ལོག་གཏོང་ཆད་བྱས་ནས། བོད་བཀའ་ས་རི་ནས་བོད་ཀྱི་མི་སྣ་ཞིག་ལ་
 དཔག་ས་བར་དུ་ཀྱི་ལ་པོ་ལ་ཞབས་ཕྱི་ལ་བཏང་ནས། ཀྱི་ལ་པོས་རྗེ་ཤམ་ཉ་རི་ཅན་དང་།
 ཤུ་ཟེར་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ལག་ཏུ་བཏང་ནས་སྤེལ་ས་ཁར་དུ་ཕེབས། །དེ་ནས་ལ་དཔག་ས་
 ལ་ཐུར་ཁུངས་ཀྱི་ལ་དུས་ཀྱི་སྐྱེ་བྱ་གཅིག་ལ་ཡང་དབང་མེད་པར་བྱས་ནས།
 སྐོས་སྤྲུ་རྗེ་ཤམ་ཉ་རི་ཅན་དང་ཤུ་ཟེར་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་བཀའ་ཁྲོན་རིག་འཛིན་ཕྱོད་ཕྱ་
 རང་དུ་ཤི་ས་ཁན་གྱི་ཤུ་ཟེར་ཟོར་ཤར་གྱི་ཞབས་ཏོག་པ་དང་སེར་ཁུང་ལ་ཡང་ཐུ་
 ཕྱི་འགྱུར་མེད་ཞབས་ཏོག་པ་ཡིན་མོལ་ནས། ལ་དཔག་ས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་ཁྱུ་ཚང་ས་བཏང་
 ནས་བཀའ་ཁྲོན་ལ་བསྐོས། །དེ་ནས་དེ་ཤམ་ཉ་ཤུ་ཟེར་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ལ་དཔག་ས་ཀྱི་
 སྐྱེ་བྱ་སྤེལ་ཁྲོན་པོ་དངོས་གྲུབ་བསྟན་འཛིན་དང་། ཨ་ཐོ་མགོན་པོ་དང་། བསྐྱེ་བ་
 དག་ཆེ་རིང་ཕྱོགས་གྲུས་བཅས་ཁྲིད་ནས་འཇམ་མུ་ཅ་ཕྱིར་ལོག་བསྐྱོད། ལ་དཔག་ས་
 ལ་བཀའ་ཁྲོན་རིག་འཛིན་དང་། མག་ན་ཐ་ན་དར་དང་ཀྱི་ཤུ་ཅ་སི་པ་བཅས་
 བཞག་གོ།

ཤོག་ལོག་ས་དང་པོ་ལ་འེ་ནས་ཟེར་བ་དེ་ནི། ཨི་ནས་ཟེར་བའི་དོན་
 ཡིན་ཆོད་འདུག།

Triloknāth.—By J. PH. VOGEL, ESQ.

[Read 8th January, 1902.]

In the course of a summer-tour in the Kāngra District I had the opportunity of making some notes, which may help to elucidate the connection between the Bodhisattva Avalokiteṣvara and the Brahmanical god Īiva.

An endeavour has been made to explain the former as the Buddhist counterpart of the Hindū deity Brahmā, chiefly on account of iconographical observations.¹ This connection however seems *à priori* highly improbable, considering the place occupied by these deities in the Pantheon of both Religions. The Bodhisattva in its origin the vague creation of monastic contemplation—in order to obtain so prominent a place in the Mahāyāna system, must have assumed the shape and attributes of the much-honoured and beloved Īiva, not of Brahmā, himself merely the personification of an abstract conception, who by his passiveness never appealed to the popular imagination. The close relation between Avalokiteṣvara and Īiva has lately been vindicated by M. A. Foucher.² The following facts connected with the name of Triloknāth will, I believe, corroborate the same view.

One of the most famous *tīrthas* of the Western Himālayas is Triloknāth, situated on the left bank of the Candrabhāga river, some thirty-two miles below the junction of its constituents, Candra and Bhāga. Though geographically belonging to Patan, which is the name of the lower part of Lāhul, the place has been included in the territory of Cambā. Its inaccessibility, no doubt, enhances greatly the merit resulting from a pilgrimage. Moorcroft³ when passing through Lāhul on his way to Bukhāra met "two half-starved Hindu fakirs: one of them had come from Chapra, the other from Ougein: both were going on a pilgrimage to Triloknāth."⁴

¹ L. A. Waddell in J.R.A.S., 1894, p. 57 *sqq.*

² *Étude sur l'iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde* Paris, 1900, p. 172 *sq.*

³ *Travels*, I, p. 193 *sq.*

⁴ *Kāngra Gazetteer*, Part III, p. 18. It is therefore strange to find that only three pages further on in the same volume the word *Triloknāth* is said to indicate

Since the construction of the Central Asian trade road the number of pilgrims must have considerably increased. When travelling in Kullū one often meets *sādhus*, who after visiting the hot springs of Maṇikarn in the Pārbatī valley, cross the Rotang-pass and wander down "the wild and willowed shore" of Bhāga and Candrabhāga in order to reach the celebrated *tīrtha*. When I visited the place on the 17th August it happened that the annual *melā* was just going on. So I had a good opportunity of satisfying myself that the deity of this place is equally honoured by the Buddhists of Lāhul, Ladākh and Basāhir as by the Hindūs of Cambā, Kullū and other parts. The variety of type and dress displayed by the numerous pilgrims would be highly interesting to the ethnologist. Though their devoutness is of at somewhat peculiar sort, manifesting itself chiefly in dancing and drinking, the question rises: Who is the *devatā*, who attracts people so different in race and religion to his remote and inaccessible shrine?

It has already been stated by the Rev. Mr. Heyde, late of the Moravian Mission at Kyalang, that the Triloknāth of the Candrabhāga valley is no other than the Bodhisattva Avalokiteṣvara.

An inspection of his image fully confirmed this statement. The position of the legs (*mahārāja-līlā*) at once suggests a Bodhisattva, though it is noticeable that not the right but the left leg is hanging down. The six arms have the following *mudrās* and *lakṣaṇas*: R. upper *abhaya*, R. middle *aṣṣamālā*, R. lower *vara*, L. upper *triṣūla*, L. middle (resting in lap) *sarpa*, L. lower *maṅgalakalāṣa*. The number of arms, their position and attributes seem rather exceptional, if compared with the Nepalese miniatures, discussed so ably by M. Foucher. The absence of the *padma* especially would almost raise a doubt as to its identity with Avalokiteṣvara. But from the same author it appears that the number of arms is anything but fixed and that six-armed images of Avalokita are not unknown.¹ Moreover, there is the *varamudrā*, a main characteristic of this Bodhisattva, whilst the snake also occurs among the attributes of one of M. Foucher's miniatures (Pl. IV, 6). To remove all doubt it will only be necessary to state that the image of Triloknāth in its *mukuta* shows a cross-legged figure: the Dhyanī-buddha Amitābha. The image is of white marble, a material, which I did not find used anywhere else in the Kullū sub-division,

"the Hindu Trinity" and explained as "the three lords of the world." The Hindu Trinity occupies a larger place in the imagination of the West than in the religious belief of India. Sanskrit *Trilokanātha* of course can only mean "Lord of the three worlds."

¹ Foucher, l.c., p., 97 *sqq.* Cf. Waddell, l.c., pp. 58 and 79 No. 12.

though miniature images of painted marble are occasionally met with in Lāhul.

It is a curious circumstance, that the abode of the Bodhisattva is a regular *ṣikhara* temple of moderate size, said to be founded by the Pāṇḍavas! This tradition it has in common with every ancient shrine in the District. It simply indicates the antiquity of the building and the fact that its origin is unknown. Of one shrine, which is supposed to be older than the others, not the foundation, but the restoration is attributed to the Dharmarāja and his brothers. It is that of *yvālāmukhī*.

As to the Triloknāth temple the sanctum is combined with a plain oblong structure, covered by a wooden sloping roof with gilt pinnacles. A similar combination is regularly found with Viṣṇu temples in the Kullū valley.

In that part of Lāhul which is known as Patan the transition between Lāmāism and Hindūism is gradual, but this is by no means the case on the Kullū side. Here the mid-Himālayan range marks a very distinct boundary between the two religions. Any one who has crossed the Rotang-pass must have been struck by the contrast in climate, scenery and population, between the Candra and the Upper Biās valley.

It has been asserted and seems generally accepted by the European inhabitants that Buddhism was once prevalent in Kullū. Captain Harcourt in his in many respects valuable book¹ on the sub-division, which for some years was committed to his charge, is of the same opinion. The arguments, on which his conviction is based, are the frequent occurrence of the Buddhistical wheel on temples besides the effigies of Buddhistical animals, birds and snakes, and the ceremony of "the swinging rope." As to the first I may remark that locally the ornament referred to is mostly explained as representing the sun and moon, and shows more resemblance to a conventional *padma* than anything else. But even if it were meant to be the *cakra* it should be borne in mind, that the wheel is by no means a purely Buddhistic emblem.² As to the curious ceremony of a man sliding down a rope stretched from the top of a precipice, it is practised at Nirmand on the Satlaj.³ But this place though for political purposes included in Kullū does not belong to the valley geographically. It was witnessed, Captain Harcourt says, by one of Major Montgomerie's pandits in Potala fort outside

¹ Kooloo, Lahoul and Spiti (London, 1871), p. 205 *sq.*

² Grünwedel. *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien* (Berlin, 1900), p. 6.

³ Harcourt, *l.c.*, p. 318 *sqq.*

Lhasa, but this alone is no reason for styling it Buddhistic. At the utmost it might be called lāmāistic, and in that case we ought probably to look upon it as a part of the aboriginal worship, certainly not as an ingredient of the "thin varnish of Mahāyāna Buddhism."¹ For in other non-Buddhist tracts of the Himālaya the ceremony of the swinging rope appears to exist. Moorcroft² found it practised at Srinagar, the capital of Garwāl.

The most plausible explanation I can offer is, that it is a survival of human sacrifices, the prevalence of which in former times in Kullū and Lāhul is indicated by popular tradition.³ But in this peculiar case the victim instead of being actually killed, had to undergo a risk that endangered his life. An offering was thus made to the deity who might decline or accept the sacrifice according to her divine pleasure. In 1856 the latter happened, *i.e.*, the man was killed and since then the practice has been prohibited. I am given to understand, however, that the ceremony still takes place, but on such a small scale that the man's life is not imperilled. If my hypothesis be true, it offers a curious instance of the tenacity of religious customs, which are still preserved after having entirely lost their original significance.

I have digressed on this subject, because during a stay of nearly two months in Kullū, I did not meet with any real traces of Buddhism, such as topes, images, inscriptions or even popular traditions. There is one exception only, which is of special interest for my present subject, *viz.*, an image of Avalokita, known as Triloknāth, at Kalāt on the Biās.

In three places in the Kullū valley there are hot springs: at Manikarn on the Pārbatī, a tributary of the Biās, at Basisht opposite Manāli and at Kalāt, halfway between this place and Katrain. In each of these spots the phenomenon has been connected with popular worship. Manikarn is the chief *tīrtha* of Kullū, now a centre of *Viṣṇu bhakti*, though originally as appears from the *Māhātmya* belonging to Īvaism. Basisht has received its name from the *Rṣi Vasiṣṭha*, the Saint being worshipped as the guru of Rāma, who has a stone *gikhara* in the same place. At Kalāt there is a plain village-temple, dedicated to Kapila Muni. When Vasiṣṭha was carrying the precious water from Manikarn to the place, which was destined to bear his name, he passed Kapila, who ceasing his *tapas* for a moment snatched from him a few drops and thus gave its origin to the hot spring at Kalāt.

The image of Kapila Muni is made of *aṣṭadhātu*. This circumstance deserves notice, because nearly all metal images, which I found

¹ Waddell: *Lamaism*, p. 30.

² *Travels*, I, p. 17.

³ Harcourt, *l.c.*, p. 325. *Kāngra Gazetteer*, Part III, p. 17.

in Kullū, belong to Viṣṇu-worship, and for this reason, are of a comparatively recent date, both having been introduced in the seventeenth century under patronage of the Kullū Rājās. The shrine of Kapila contained some more images of the same material: Rāmcandar, Sitā Caturbhuj, Rādhā and Hanūman.

But besides, there was a small image-slab, much effaced and apparently, of considerable age. It showed a six-armed figure, but its attributes were unrecognisable. Only the *vara-mudrā* of the lower right hand was plainly visible, while in one of the left hands there was something like a staff, which might have been either a trident or a snake. The *āsana* was exactly like that of the Avalokitas of Lāhul. Moreover, there was a second figure in *dhyāna-mudrā* on the head. The *pūjārīs* had never noticed the latter and when it was pointed out to them, they declared it to be Lakṣmī! The image itself, however, they knew by the name of Triloknāth and admitted that it represented the same deity as that worshipped in Lāhul. It seems highly probable, that Avalokita was originally the main object of worship at Kalāt and was superseded by the Brahmanical Muni, who still grants him a subordinate place in his shrine. The material of the image in any case tends to show that it was not imported but belongs to the spot.

The same curious mixture of Hindūism and Lāmāism as is found at Triloknāth in the Candrabhāga valley, is met with in Rawālsar, the famous *tīrtha* of Mandi, the hill-State stretching along the middle course of the Biās. Here in an absolutely Hindū country we find Padmasambhava,¹ the founder of Buddhism in Tibet, worshipped not only by Lāmās who have their own *Gan-pa* here, but equally by Brāhmanas, who call him *Ṛṣi Lomaṇa* and even possess a *Māhātmya*, in which the local legend is given in its Brāhmanic version. But for my present subject it is of more interest, that in Mandi Town we meet again with the name Triloknāth, but here to indicate—Çiva. The preponderance of Çivaism in Mandi is the more striking, when entering the State from the Kullū side, where Viṣṇuism, though by no means the popular worship—has been made the State-religion by its Rulers of the seventeenth century. In Mandi Çiva is worshipped under his well-known symbol, the *linga*, but besides the images of *Çiva Pañcaraktra* or *Pañcānana* are remarkably numerous. It is worthy of notice, that the five faces of this deity are not placed in one row as is mostly the case with polycephalic statues but in such a way, that the fourth face is on the reverse side of the slab which is otherwise quite plain and the fifth on the top of the image-slab. Thus when seen in front only

¹ Not *Padma Paṇi* as given in the Gazetteer, Part III, p. 18.

three faces are visible. I may also note that according to a local *purohita* the five faces of Mahādeva indicate the five *Dhyānas*.

The images of *Śiva Pañcavaktra* without exception are ten-armed in accordance with the number of faces. The attributes and *mudrās* are rather divergent and not always easy to identify. The following belong to three different images in Mandi Town:—

I	R. upper	<i>Khaḍga</i>	L. upper	<i>triṣūla</i>
	" 2D	<i>sarpa</i>	" 2D	<i>gadā</i>
	" 3D	<i>aṅkuṣa</i>	" 3D	<i>ghaṇṭā</i> or <i>kalāṣa</i>
	" 4TH	<i>vara</i>	" 4TH	broken
	" 5TH	broken	" 5TH	<i>Śakti</i> (viz., <i>Pārvatī</i>)
II	R upper	<i>triṣūla</i>	L. upper	<i>cakra</i>
	" 2D	empty	" 2D	<i>ḍamaru</i>
	" 3D	<i>ṣaṅkha</i>	" 3D	<i>vādana</i>
	" 4TH	<i>akṣamālā</i>	" 4TH	<i>kalāṣa</i> (and <i>Śakti</i>)
	" 5TH	?	" 5TH	<i>sarpa</i>
III	R upper	<i>triṣūla</i>	L upper	<i>ḍamaru</i>
	" 2D	<i>abhaya</i>	" 2D	<i>cakra</i>
	" 3D	<i>dīpa</i> (?)	" 3D	<i>sarpa</i>
	" 4TH	<i>akṣamālā</i>	" 4TH	"
	" 5TH	<i>vādana</i>	" 5TH	<i>kalāṣa</i> (and <i>Śakti</i>).

As a rule the *devatā* is represented seated on its *vāhana* the bull *Nandi*, while *Pārvatī*'s *vāhana* the lion is standing behind it, the head turned in the opposite direction.

It will not escape notice that the attributes of *Śiva Pañcavaktra* are partly the same as those of Triloknāth-Avalokiteśvara. Snake trident and vessel are common to all images. Also the rosary which may be conjectured to have occupied the fifth right hand of the first described image. Even the *vara* and *abhayamudrās* occur though not regularly. The occurrence of the rosary and vessel as attributes of *Śiva* considerably weakens one of the chief arguments in favour of the connection between Brahmā and Avalokita, viz., the similarity of their attributes. I have only to add that in one of the oldest temples of Mandi situated on the right bank of the Bīās *Śiva Pañcavaktra* is worshipped under no other name than Triloknāth.

Now travelling down the Bīās-valley into Kāngra proper, again the name Triloknāth is met to designate a village (also called Trilok-pūr) and *tirtha*, about two miles east from Kotla. This shrine "is not a building, but a naturally formed cave. Water charged with mineral matter, dropping from the roof, has at the far end of the cave produced two large stalactites and stalagmites, which meeting midway now form

two pillars. The roof and floor of the rest of the building are covered with masses of stalactite and stalagmite."¹ Besides these numberless *svayambhū lingas* there is in the centre of the cave, as chief object of worship, a *linga* of white marble, which is *pañcavaktra* and thus forms a link between the *linga* and the image just described.

The substance of the present paper may be briefly stated thus: that in the Candrabhāga valley and also on the southern side of the mid-Himālayan range on the upper Biās Triloknāth is the name by which the Bodhisattva Avalokiteṣvara is indicated, while along the lower course of the Biās river the same name is assigned to Īiva, represented either as a *linga* or as a five-faced statue, which in its attributes shows a marked resemblance to some of Avalokita's images.

¹ C. J. Rodgers. Revised List of Objects of Archaeological interest in the Panjab (Lahore, 1891), p. 43.

Notes on two Coins of the Sunga Dynasty.—By COL. C. E. SHEPHERD.

[Read 6th November, 1901.]

In Vol. XLIX, Part I of 1880 of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal are two papers on coins of the Sunga dynasty, one by Mr. A. C. Carlile describing some coins of the dynasty collected by H. Rivett-Carnac, Esq., C.I.E., F.S.A., etc., and a second paper by Mr. Rivett-Carnac himself giving a further description of such coins. In neither paper, however, is mention made of Dhruva Mitra or Rudra Gupta made as belonging to this dynasty. I send two casts showing one coin of each of these Kings.

The three symbols above the name are identical with those on the coins of Agni, Bhumi and Phaguni Mitra in the papers above alluded to so that Dhruva Mitra and Rudra Gupta undoubtedly belonged to the same dynasty; the style of the coins is similar, the name and symbols of the obverse having evidently been struck with a square die and the reverse has the Buddhist much the same as that shewn in some of the coins in Plates VII and VIII of the papers above alluded to. These two coins were obtained at a village near Rāmanagar from the ruined site of Ahichhatra. A more detailed description is as follows :—

DHRUVA MITRA.

Coin of medium size, and of mixed metal having a brassy lustre with however two spots of coppery colour showing on the reverse side, as



if the metals were not thoroughly mixed. The coin has two splits, one very slight, made most likely during process of manufacture.

Obverse.—Square depression with the three symbols in line above, and name below.

Reverse.—Buddhist railing with traces of uprights at each end and an upright in the centre but what is at the top of this is undecipherable.

RUDEA GUPTA.

Coin of same medium size, also of mixed metal, but the mixture not uniform, the copper more largely predominating in one half the coin.



Obverse.—Square depression with the three symbols in line above and name below.

Reverse.—Buddhist railing, on the left corner an upright ending in a trident, in the centre an upright rather higher than the left-hand one and having a ... near the top, on the right traces of an upright but too deleted to decipher.

Both these coins I believe to be rare.

A short Notice of a Persian MS. on Gaur.—By H. BEVERIDGE, ESQ.

[Read 6th November, 1901.]

The attention of students of the history of Bengal is hereby drawn to a thin folio in the India Office Library, p. 1541, No. 2841 of Dr. Ethé's catalogue. It is an account of the buildings and inscriptions at Rajmahal Gaur and Panduah, and it also has a chapter containing a list of the rulers of Bengal from the days of Lakṣmaṇa Sena. It is the result of local investigations made by Shyām Prasād in November and December, 1810, when he visited Gaur, etc., in attendance on Major Francklin. The report was drawn up for Major Francklin and appears to be the source of the information given in Francklin's Journal of which good use has been made by Mrs. Ravenshaw and Mr. Grote in Ravenshaw's Gaur. Most, if not all, the inscriptions quoted in the notes to that work are to be found in Shyām Prasād's report. The latter does not contain much that is new about Gaur or Panduah, but as it is a very small work—only thirty-two pages of Persian, and is our earliest topography of Gaur, I beg to suggest that it should be published in our Society's Journal. For this purpose it would be advisable to borrow the original from the India Office. Shyām Prasād tells one story about Firūz Shāh's Minār which is new. He says that the builder was one Pīrī and that when Firūz Shāh visited the Minār after its completion Pīrī said to him that he could have made a still finer column. This enraged the King, who said: "Why didn't you then?" and had him toppled down from the summit.

In Ravenshaw's Gaur, p. 53, the inscription on the tomb of a child is given. This is also given by Shyām Prasād, and it is interesting to observe that the child must have been the son of the Tāhir Muḥammad who wrote the *Rauzat-Tāhirīn*. Tāhir Muḥammad's work shows unusual knowledge of Bengal, and this inscription helps us to understand how he got his information. In the list of the Kings of Bengal we find Shyām Prasād giving Qadīr Sen as the original name of Sultān Jalāl-ud-dīn whom he calls the son of Kāshī, or (Kāsi) Rai. It may be remembered that Buchanan, who got his information from Francklin, also gives Qadīr Sen as Jalāl-ud-dīn's name.

The really new part of Shyām Prasād's report seems to be his first chapter which gives an account of Rājmahal. So far as I know the particulars he gives have not been recorded elsewhere, though there is an account of Rājmahal in Buchanan.

The Khojas of Eastern Turkistan.—By H. BEVERIDGE, ESQ., I.C.S.,
retired.

[Read August, 1901.]

Mr. Ney Elias remarks in the preface to his account of the Khojas, published in the supplement to our Society's Journal for 1897, that Mr. R. B. Shaw appears to have used another book besides Muhammad Sadiq's, but that he has been unable to find it. Had that excellent man been alive, he would have been pleased to learn that the missing manuscript is almost certainly in the Oxford Indian Institute. It appears to be one of two Persian MSS. which were presented to the Institute in December 1880 by General Younghusband who is a connexion of Mr. Shaw. Both of these MSS. give the genealogy of the Khojas and describe the coming of Kamālu-d-dīn Majnūn from Medina to Farghāna, &c., but the one which best corresponds to the "other book" of Mr. Shaw is a well-written octavo bearing the Institute-library number 294. It is called the *Anisū-ṭ-ṭālibīn* (Friend of inquirers), and appears to have been written by Shāh(?) Mahmūd son of Mirzā Fāzil Jarās (جراس) about 1049 A.H. It is divided into two parts, one giving the history of Āli and sundry Imāms and the other describing the Khojas. It describes Makhdūm-i-Ā'azim and gives his proper name as Maulānā Ahmad Khwājagī Kāsānī. Compare Mr. Elias' note, p. 5 of the Introduction where he says that the name Ahmad Khwāja has evidently been taken by Mr. Shaw from the "other book," for it is not mentioned by M. Šādiq.

The other MS. is called *Jāmā-al-Maqāmāt* (collection of assemblies) and bears the Institute-library number 309. The author appears to be Abū-al-baqā, son of Khwāja Bahāu-d-dīn, and grandson of Makhdūm Ā'azim, and also nephew of Princess Māhim. He appears to have resided in Yārkand and to have been in the service of Ḥaẓrat Khwāja Jahān. He records the death of a Yūlbārs Khan and appears to have composed his book in the beginning of 1026 A.H., though the copy was made in 1030 or 1040. The book is an elaborate biography of Makhdūm Ā'azim and is divided into three chapters. The first gives an account of the material and spiritual descent of the Makhdūm; the second records his sayings, and the third, which is much the longest, gives an immense number of his miracles. I could not find that any of them were interesting except one relating to Bābar, and which gives the circumstances under which he composed a quatrain quoted by Abūl Fazl, and another, the last in the book, which records the reformation of an opium-eater of thirty years' standing. The author says in his

preface that anecdotes and conversations of the Maḥdūm had been recorded by his disciples Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm and Mulli Qāsim Kātib, but that they had not been gathered into one place. Hence the title of his work. Apparently the author was ordered to compose his work by Maulānā Dost, a disciple of the Maḥdūm. The MS. is a small, thick octavo well-written and well preserved. Both MSS. describe Kamālud-din Majnūn's marriage with the daughter of Sultān Īliq Māzi of Farghana, the birth of Burhān-al-maujīdin, and his succeeding his father-in-law on the throne. Their accounts correspond with the beginning of Mr. Shaw's epitome p. 31, l.c., and they are probably the sources of M. Šādiq's book which was written in 1768. The Anisut-tālībīn calls Sultān Īliq Māzi the grandson of Sultān Satūq Bughra Khān which is also Mr. Shaw's statement. It may interest students of Central Asian history to know that Mr. Shaw's English papers, and also his MS. of Muḥammad Sadiq Kāshghari (in Turkī) are in the Oriental department of the British Museum. In the same press in the Institute-library which contains the two MSS. above described there is a shelf full of Turkī MSS. One of them is a history and another is a biography of Ḥaẓrat Afāq.¹ These MSS. also were presented by General Younghusband. The Shaw papers in the British Museum were presented by Mrs. Younghusband.

¹ See appendix to Shaw's epitome, l.c. and Dr. Bellew's history of Kāshghar, Yarkand Report, p. 176.

A short Note on the Date of the Death of Nūr Quṭb 'Aalam.—By
H. BEVERIDGE, ESQ.

[Read 6th November, 1901.]

In a note published in the J.A.S.B. for 1892, Part I, p. 124, I stated that a book in the possession of the guardian of Nūr Quṭb's throne at Pandūā was said to give 7 Zi-l-qāda 818 as the date of the Saint's death. Lately I have found this date confirmed by the Mirāt-al-asrār, B.M. MS. Or., 216, which on p. 479b gives the date as 10 Zi-l-qāda 818 and also gives the same chronogram "*Nūr buṭr shud.*" This is interesting for the Mirāt-al-asrār was written in 1045 A.H. (1635 A.D.) and the difference in the day of the month seems to show that the guardian's book and the Mirāt are independent authorities. The Mirāt has a long biography of the Saint, and another of his father.

The Invention of Chess and Backgammon.—By MAJOR H. G. RAVERTY.

[Received 2nd April, 1902. Read in March, 1902.]

There appears to be much uncertainty regarding the origin of the game of chess. One who has written on the subject asserts, that "The date of its inception no one has discovered, and the question remains to this day a vexed one. Periodically something turns up to bury all former suppositions in the matter, and the day of its birth is put back a few thousand years."

A German Professor however is said to have "discovered from the last excavations on the pyramids of Sakkara, a wall painting in which an Egyptian king, Teta, is represented playing chess with a high official." This monarch is stated to have reigned about 3,700 B.C.; while another Professor corrects this chronology, and puts it back some six centuries to 3,300 B.C.; so that, according to this last surmise, the game of chess is very old indeed, and must have been known in the once mysterious land of Mizraim *only* about 5,205 years ago. But all this is absurd.

The game of chess is mentioned in Sanskrit literature, and may be found in some stanzas occurring in the writings of two Kash-miri authors, Ratnā-kara and Rud-ṛaṭa, the first of whom lived in the first half of the ninth century A.D., and the other in the second half, and in their writings the game is called "*Chaturanga*, or the Four Membered (Army)."

Abū Rihān, the Berūnī or Foreigner, as he is called (the "Albērūnī" of Europeans—*al* is merely the Arabic article answering to 'the'), who wrote in the reign of Sultān Mas'ūd of Ghazni, says it was well-known in his time, early in the eleventh century A.D.—1030 to 1038.

But the earliest mention of the game in Sanskrit writings, as far as we know, is in the first half of the seventh century A.D., in a work entitled "*Harsha-karita*" said to be the earliest attempt at historical romance in that language, which was translated by Professor

E. B. Cowell of Cambridge a few years since; but chess is only referred to therein as *known* in Hind, not the time of its inception.

I shall now proceed to show how, when, and why it was invented.

Among the events of the year 353 H., which commenced on the 1st of August, 946, of the Christian era, just nine hundred and fifty-five years ago, the death is recorded of Abū-Bikr Muḥammad, known as Sūl-uṣ-Ṣūli, or Ṣūl, who was a native of a place called Ṣūli. He was a man of vast erudition, and proficient in most of the sciences and learning then cultivated, including chronology and the traditions of the prophet, Muḥammad, and was the author of several works. He was moreover, the greatest chess-player then known, and was famous as such throughout the Musalmān countries. His skill and proficiency in this game, in consequence, became a proverb; and when anyone attained great skill therein, people used to say: "So-and-so is a perfect Ṣūl at chess," or "He is as proficient as Ṣūl before him."

On this account an idea arose among some persons, that Ṣūl was himself the inventor of the game; but this was totally incorrect. It was invented by the sage, Sahsih or Sihsih, or Sis as it is written by different foreign, *i.e.* non-Hindi, authorities—but it is a Musalmān corruption of the purely Hindi name of Sahasi, son of Dāhir, whose family, in after years, became rulers of Sind, and which Sahasi was also known under the by-name of Laj-Lāj. He is said to have invented it for a Rai or Rājah of the territory of Sind, named Bhalit, by some called Baghil, who was famous under the name or title of Sheram. The reason of its invention is said to have been because Ard-shīr, son of Bābak, of the Sāsāniān dynasty of Irān-Zamin, or the ancient Persian empire, had invented, long before, the game of *Nard* or Backgammon.

Ard-shīr Bābakān having invented it, the game was also sometimes called *Nard-i-shīr*, after him. He devised a chequered cloth (both it and chess are still played throughout the East, on a chequered cloth, which folds up, instead of on a board, as with us) containing twelve divisions or compartments according to the twelve solar months of the Persian year and the *muhrahs* or counters with which *Nard* was played, corresponded with the number of days of the lunar month of the Fire-Worshippers or Ancient Persians; and one half of the counters were white and the other half black, because one half the month has moonlight nights, and the other half dark ones. The moves from one division or space to another he likened to the decrees of destiny, which vary and change, are turned and inverted, in the life of every human being, the fate of each one differing from that of another.

So, after this game of *Nard* or Backgammon had been invented,

it was received with the utmost interest and delight; and after it had become generally known, the people of Fārs (Persia proper) used to make a great boast of it, and to exult over those of Sind adjoining them. On this account the ruler of Sind is said to have sent for the sage Sahsih (Sahasi) and to have commanded him to try and invent some other game, which should entirely surpass this boasted Persian game of *Nard*, but to be also played like it, on a chequered cloth, and which among the wise, should be considered much more intellectual, and to require much greater skill, and far deeper thought, to play successfully.

But some centuries elapsed between the time of Ard-shir Bābakān, who was the first monarch of the fourth or Sāsānīan dynasty of ancient Persia, and that of Nāh-shīrwān, who was the first of the fifth or Akāsirah dynasty, and in whose reign the Rai or ruler of Sind is said to have sent him a set of chess-men, and a chequered cloth to play it on, as presently to be related.

In the Sindī, as well as in the Hindi dilectes, the name of this game is said to be derived from the Sanskrit word *Chaturāṇ*, signifying 'artful,' 'cunning,' and also 'variegated,' 'bi-coloured,' 'tesselated,' 'chequered'; which is said to refer to the several members, pieces, or component parts, a mere figure of speech referring to the elephant, the horse, the chariot, and the foot soldier, common man, or pawn. The Persians rejected the short *u* in the word, and called it *Shatrang*, while the 'Arabs styled the game *Shatranj*.¹

The statement regarding its invention, contained in a famous old book, entitled "*Nafāyis-ul-Fūnūn*," or "*Precious Things in Science*," is as follows.

Sahsih (Sahasi), also known as Laj-Lāj, son of Dāhir, which latter was one of the ancient rulers of Sind (and the last of the Rais or

¹ An amusing scene occurred on one occasion with reference to the pronunciation of the name of chess, at a Court of Requests at Poonah in 1851 of which I was a member, when the Assistant Bāzār-Master, who acted as Interpreter to the Court, mistook the word *Shatrang*—Chess—for *Shatranj*—a Carpet. A native, one of the professed chess players, had made a claim on a young Queen's officer totally ignorant of the language, for money lost to him while playing chess, and which the Interpreter rendered, "*money, the price of a carpet*." When the President was about to give the claim in the native's favour—and the Interpreter had had ample time to correct his mistake, had he known of it—I ventured to observe that the Interpreter had made "a slight mistake," and that the claim was not for a carpet, but for money lost at chess, and which, on being again asked, the native confessed. On this the President, a hot old Colonel, thundered out to the claimant: "Get away you insolent rascal! I have a great mind to order you a flogging, coming here and taking up the time of the Court with your gambling claims!"

kings of Sind, who fell in battle fighting against the 'Arabs, when they subdued that territory in 94 H.—712-13 A.D.—, was also called Dāhir), was the inventor of the game. Two reasons are given why it was invented. One is, and apparently the most authentic one, that among the ancient rulers of Sind, Rāi Bhalit,¹ by some called Rai Baghil, who was very warlike, and who was never contented unless leading his troops against some one, and carrying on wars against his neighbours, at last became afflicted with some painful disorder which precluded him from sitting a horse, or on an elephant; and as he was passionately fond of military operations, and "setting squadrons on the field," he assembled together the sages, and all the most sagacious and ingenious persons of his court and of Sind, and addressed them, saying: "As you are all aware that I am afflicted with this complaint, I desire that you would devise some contrivance, whereby, without being obliged to sit on horse-back or on an elephant, I may still be able to occupy myself in (the semblance of) warfare; so that I may divert my thoughts from brooding over this disorder afflicting me, and thereby obtain some relief."

Sahsih (Sahasi), otherwise Laj-Lāj, son of Dāhir, then came forward, and having made his obeisance, represented, saying: "I have in my possession an expedient whereby this difficulty may be solved and remedied, and the Rai obtain the alleviation he seeks." Thus saying, he arose, and having gone to his own dwelling, he soon returned, bringing along with him the game of chess complete, a cloth to play it upon, and the chess-men, all of which he had invented. The other wise men there assembled greatly applauded Sahsih for his invention, and considered that *nard* or backgammon was not to be compared with it; while Rai Bhalit, was so transported with delight, that he declared to Sahsih, saying: "Demand of me, O sage whatever thou mayest desire, and I will grant it unto thee."

Sahsih, thanking the king, replied: "If the Rai shall be pleased to grant what I ask for, well and good, otherwise it is as he may please to command. I merely ask that a single grain of wheat may be placed on the first square of the chess-cloth, and doubled every time on each

¹ Al-Mas'ūdī who wrote the "*Marāj-uz Zahab wa Ma'ādin-ul-Jauāhir*—" "*Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems*"—and described the state of the countries of the east and the west, about 332-33 H. (945 A.D.), in his 7th Chapter, records, that Dab-Shalim, one of the kings of Sind, who wrote the famous book, "*Kalilah and Damnah*," was succeeded by another king named Bhalit, who reigned 80 years; and other writers, including the "*Gardaizi*," state that, in his time, the book in question, and the game of chess and the means of playing it, were despatched to Nuh-shīrwān, as mentioned farther on.

succeeding one. For example; on the first square one grain of wheat on the second two, on the third, four, and on the fourth, eight, and so on; and when the number of squares on the cloth shall have been computed after this manner, be pleased, O Rai! to command that that quantity of wheat be made over to me."

When Rai Bhalit heard this, as he supposed, modest request, he exclaimed to those present in his assembly, in the most contemptuous manner: "I was desirous of bestowing upon him something of great value, and he has instead, merely asked for the most insignificant and paltry thing possible!" To this Sahsih replied: "This is the request that I desire to make, if the Rai shall be pleased to grant it, I do not desire anything more, and shall be quite satisfied with that." The Rai, who imagined he had gone out of his wits, commanded that what he had asked for should be given to him. But when the revenue officials began to make their computation, in order to carry out the Rai's commands, they, in a great fright, despatched one of their number to his presence, who represented saying: "In the whole of our country such a quantity of wheat cannot be obtained as would be required to carry out the Rai's commands respecting Sahsih." When Rai Bhalit heard this statement, he was filled with amazement, and could not credit it; and he commanded that all the revenue officials should be summoned before him, and show how they arrived at, as he conceived, such an absurd conclusion.

When the revenue officials, with very long faces, appeared before him, he required them to show how they made out that there was such difficulty, nay impossibility, in complying with what Sahsih had asked for; and what they thought it would be advisable to do under the circumstances. They replied, that if the wheat produce of the whole world could be collected together, it would not come up to the quantity required to carry out the Rai's command. On hearing this, Bhalit was still more amazed than before, and he felt certain that they could not be speaking the truth; and he commanded that they should proceed to prove their statement clearly and fully. A number of arithmeticians accordingly assembled together for the purpose; and after making their calculations, declared that it was beyond the power of anyone to comply with Sahsih's request. The way in which they proceeded to prove this was, that, having placed one grain of wheat on the first square, and doubling the number each time, when they reached the sixteenth, it was proved that the quantity then amounted to 32,760 grains of wheat, which is equal to 5 *seers*;¹ and when the nineteenth square was reached,

¹ A weight varying from one pound to one pound fourteen ounces in different parts.

a *mann* was required, which is equal to 40 *sers*. Going on calculating in this manner by the time they came to the fortieth square, the quantity required was 2,970,152 *manns*, which the revenue officials computed to be the produce of one city with its dependent lands and villages, according to the revenue custom in those parts; and they then began to calculate by cities. For the fiftieth square it was found that the produce of 1,024 such cities would be required; for the sixtieth square, the produce of 1,048,576 cities; and for the sixty-fourth or last square, 16,777,216 cities! But, taking the surface of the whole earth into account, if there should be one city on every square mile even, there would not be sufficient to furnish the quantity of wheat required to carry out the promise given to Sahsih, much less the cities and their lands and villages contained in the Rai's dominions. Hearing this astonishing statement, Rai Bhalit turned his face towards Sahsih and exclaimed: "O sage! thy genius and sagacity in inventing this game of chess are as nothing compared with the astonishing kind of reward which thou hast chosen for it."

As it was found thus to be impossible to comply with Sahsih's request, whether he received or accepted any other reward, the chroniclers do not say. Be this as it may, Rai Bhalit used to be constantly occupied in playing the game up to the time of his death. When this took place, there was no heir to succeed him on the throne, save his wife, who was then pregnant by him. Consequently, his widow, in concert with the chief men of the country, proceeded to administer its affairs until the period arrived for her being delivered; and she gave birth to a male child. She gave him the name—not a *title* here—of *Shāh*; and used to devote herself to his bringing up, and to his education. During his childhood and early youth, she continued as before to carry on the affairs of the country; and when *Shāh* grew up, he, inheriting his late father's warlike spirit, began to undertake military expeditions; and he brought the whole of his father's territories, some of which had been seized by enemies during his minority, completely under his sway. In whatever direction he turned his arms he used to be successful, until after some time had passed away, in one of his more distant expeditions, he was dangerously wounded in an encounter, and died of his wounds.

There was no one about the court who could venture to break this sad news to his mother, and acquaint her with the fate of her son, until one of the chief men, who was a proficient in the game of chess, which her late husband, Rai Bhalit, used so much to delight in, agreed to acquaint her. When he reached the presence of the *Rāni*, he found her in a state of great anxiety and despondency, and her mind much disturbed on account of the prolonged absence of her son. Although he was well

aware of the reason, he inquired of her the cause of her affliction, and the disturbed state of her mind, waiting for an opportunity to acquaint her with her son's fate. She replied: "It is now a long time that no news has been received of Shāh, my son, and nothing appears to be known as to the cause thereof, or what may have befallen him; and this surely is enough to make his mother's heart sad." The great man replied, saying: "It should be known to the Rānī, that from the hardships and dangers attending distant expeditions there is no remedy, and no avoiding them, nor the anxieties, uncertainties, and reverses attendant on the exercise of sovereign power, and the conduct of military affairs." He then managed to lead the conversation to the invention of the game of chess for the amusement and diversion of the late Rai, her husband, which interested her so much, that she requested him to go at once and bring the chess-men and the cloth to play it on, and teach her how the game was played. He did so accordingly; and he continued to teach her for some days, in such wise that she soon gained some expertness therein, while, at the same time, it diverted her mind from constantly brooding over the non-receipt of authentic tidings of her son.

She was one day engaged in playing the game with this great man, and was winning, the superiority being on her side, when all at once she called for the Shāh or King; and as her opponent's Shāh had no move left on the board or cloth, she exclaimed: "Shāh māt," which, literally, means, "Shāh is undone," "overthrown," or "destroyed." The great man, now finding the opportunity he sought, replied: "May the life of the Rānī be prolonged, but it is now some time that this very mishap occurred to Shāh, her son, as is here shown; and no one dared to break the sad news; but now it has been pronounced from her own lips." The truth now flashed upon her, and the fate of her son she thus learnt by means of the game of chess; and though she was greatly distressed, ✓ as may naturally be conceived, the delicate manner in which it was imparted, tended, in some measure, to alleviate her affliction and sorrow, and to enable her to resign herself to the inevitable and irrevocable.

There is, however, another account respecting the manner in which the news of her son's death was imparted to the Rānī, as I before mentioned. It is, that when Rai Bhalit found his end approaching, he named his only son, Gau, then a mere boy, his successor, and soon after died. On account of his youth he was then incapable of being intrusted to carry on the affairs of government, and, consequently, the chief men of the kingdom held counsel together, and deemed it advisable to confer the government on the late Rai's brother, Gau's uncle, who was named Dambir, and made him Regent, until such time as Gau should be capable of assuming the reins of authority.

As soon as Dambir became firmly established in possession, and affairs had assumed a settled state, he married the widow of his late brother, the mother of Gau; and she in due course of time bore him a son, who was named Talchand. Not long after Dambir also died, and the twice widowed mother of these two sons by her two husbands, was left to administer the affairs of the country, until her eldest son should be capable of doing so, and she accordingly assumed the reins of Government. But as her two sons grew up, rivalry arose between them, which continued to increase, until, at last, when they had attained near unto man's estate and years of discretion, they began openly to quarrel for the possession of the sovereignty. Notwithstanding that their partizans and supporters and well-wishers endeavoured to pacify them, and bring about a reconciliation between the rivals, their efforts were of no avail, and, at last, the two brothers came to an open rupture, and hostilities ensued between them. Having mustered their followers, they come to an encounter, during which, the forces of Talchand took to flight, leaving him on the field among his adversaries. He was mounted on an elephant, and was unable to get out of the *mêlée*, and manfully stood his ground. His brother's forces had so completely surrounded him, indeed, that his elephant could not move one way or other, and his escape was entirely cut off; and in this helpless state he died of pride and chagrin. His mother was overwhelmed with grief at his loss, and would not be comforted; and it was with great difficulty that she could be prevented from ascending the funeral pyre with the corpse of her son, Talchand.

Gau, her eldest, sent a message to his mother, in order to clear himself from the supposition that he had caused his brother to be put to death, and at the same time, besought her to abandon the idea of destroying herself; that he had had nothing to do with his brother's death, which had happened in the manner related above. Gau then directed the sages of Sind to adopt some means of demonstrating to his mother how Talchand was situated at the time of his death; and this one of them succeeded in doing by means of the game of chess, in which he had managed to interest her. He took the chess-men and chequered cloth, and showed her how the game was played. In the course of the game the *Shāh Bādshāh*, or *Shāh*, the King, on the board or cloth, became *shāshdār*, or unable to move, and the Foot-men, the Elephant (the Bishop of Europeans), the Horse-man (the Knight or Chevalier), and the Wazir or Queen, surrounded the *Shāh Bādshāh* or King, on all sides, when the players exclaimed: "*Shāh māt*" or "*Shāh*, the King, is undone or destroyed," and having no move left, and no means of flight or retreat, he perished accordingly, and the game was won.

The wise men who were present during the playing of the game, now succeeded in showing the Rāni that this game represented the situation and positions of Gau and his brother, Talchand, on the occasion of the latter's death, after being deserted by his followers, and being left on the field completely surrounded by his opponents; that Gau himself never moved from his position in the slightest degree; but that his forces had made Talchand "*shāshdār*" or unable to move; and that Talchand, finding himself in this position, out of his great pride, and the chagrin at the helpless state he found himself in, died, and thus became "*Shāh Māt*" or undone—Check-mated.

The Rāni thus became convinced as to the cause and manner of her son Talchand's death; and she was satisfied in her mind that Gau had not slain his brother. She now learnt the game, and began herself to play it; and whenever the "*Shāh Māt*" came about, she would melt into tears at the remembrance of her son's fate; and Gau now became ruler of the country.

It is from these words "*Shāh Māt*," that the words "Check Mate" are derived, showing how words in the course of ages, handed down, too, from one race of people to another, become vitiated. The word "*Māt*" is derived from the 'Arabic *māta*, "he is dead"; and is used in Persian to signify 'conquered'; 'subjected,' 'reduced to the last extremity,' etc. Both *Shāh* and *Bādshāh* mean a king or sovereign, but the former word is given as a name to a man, as well as being used as a title, but the latter very rarely so, as in the title and names of the famous Saljūk sovereign, Sulṭān Malik *Shāh*, all three words being of the same meaning; but the first is his title, and the latter his name, Malik *Shāh*. The word "*Rukh*," likewise, which Europeans call the Rook or Castle, has various meanings, one of which is the name of the fabulous bird of the "Arabian Nights," and other eastern romances and traditions (but vitiated into "Roc"), and after which word, "*Rukh*," eastern lexicographers say, one of the pieces in chess was named.

It remains now to be mentioned how and in what manner the game of chess was first introduced into Irān-Zamīn or the ancient Persian empire.

That part of western Hind or India lying nearest to Persia, which at present constitutes the province of Sind, and the southern part of the country of the Panj Ab or Five Rivers, at the period in question, and for a long time after, was well peopled, and in a flourishing condition. The Mihrān of Sind, the great river known as the Great Mihrān, or Hakrā, or Wahindab, and now known as "the Lost River of the Indian Desert," or more correctly, the Dried up Hakrā, flowed through the middle of the country and fertilized it. The Sindhu, or Indus of

the Greeks, was at that period but a tributary of the Mihrān or Hākīrā and united with the Panj Āb or Five Rivers, giving name to the present territory so called, three days' journey below, or to the southward of Multān. Sind had at a very early period, formed part of the empire of the Persians; and in the time of the Kaiāniān, or third Persian dynasty, in the reign of Gushtāsif, Bahman, his grandson, and subsequent successor, led an army into Sind and Western India. He reduced Sind completely, and some portion of India adjoining it; and in the district of Sind known as Būdah, he founded a city, which he named after himself, Bahman-Ābād or Bahman-Nih, which the people of Sind, in their dialect, call Bahman-No, or Bahman's City—*ābād* and *nih* both meaning a city in the ancient Persian. The ruins of this city of Bahman still remain; but English writers, under the erroneous idea that the name must refer to the Sanskrit word Brahman, and unacquainted with the past history of those parts, have turned it into Brahman-ābād—a purely Sanskrit name with a purely Persian termination, a wholly impossible combination.

Bahman, known as "Dirāz Dast," or "the Long Armed," is the Longimanus of the Greek writers. He is entitled Kai Ard-shīr, who married Ḥadassah or Esther, the Isrā'īlī, a direct descendant of Tālūt or Saul, king of Isrā'il; and to Bahman, the Isrā'ilis owed their delivery from captivity.¹

Thus in the time of Nūh-shīrwān, the first monarch of the fifth or Akāsīrā (the plural of Kisrā) dynasty, known as "The Just," the territory of the rulers of Sind extended into the northern Panj Āb of the present day, to the then southern boundary of the Kash-mir kingdom, which then extended over the whole of the alpine Panj Āb and beyond; on the east it adjoined Hājput-ānah; northwest to the Khwājah Amarān range; and west over great part of Mukrān. The then rulers of Sind were not under the direct control of the Persians; but they acknowledged the supremacy of the Persian monarchs, and paid a small tribute in virtue thereof.

Shortly after Nūh-shīrwān had reached his capital, Istākḥur of Fārs or Persia proper, on his return from an expedition against the Khākān of the Turks, an envoy reached his court from the Rai of Sind bringing presents for the Kisrā, Nūh-shīrwān, including several elephants; and among other curious things, a set of chess-men, and a cloth on which to play the game. The envoy also brought a message from his sovereign, the Rai of Sind, to the effect that, if the sages of the Kisrā, Nūh-shīrwān's court could discover how this game was

¹ See my "Mihrān of Sind," in the "Journal," Vol. LXI., Part III. for 1892, and "Extra Number," for 1895.

played, which game one of the sages of Sind had invented, he would be ready to give up his territory and his treasures to him; but, if they could not, it would be unworthy in him to acknowledge Nūh-shīrwān's superiority, or pay tribute to him in future; and it would be unjust and unbecoming in him, the Kisrā, under such circumstances, to entertain the idea of enforcing it by invading his territory; and further, in case any of the Kisrā's wise men had invented any thing of the kind, that he would be pleased to send it to him." This message, therefore, was equivalent to a wager, that he would stake his territory and wealth against Nūh-shīrwān's claim to suzerainty over Sind and the extortion of tribute, and that the sages of Persia could not discover how the game of chess should be played; but, in this, the Rai of Sind was "Check Mated" at his own game, as will presently appear.

I must here retrace my steps for a moment, to refer to the famous Minister of Nūh-shīrwān, the sage, Būzur Jamhir.

One night in the early part of his reign, Nūh-shīrwān had a dream, which greatly disturbed him. He beheld himself seated on the throne, with a goblet of wine in his hand, and was about to quaff some of its contents when a hog, which was seated at his side unperceived, snatched the goblet out of his hand, and drank of the contents. He caused the wise men of his court to be summoned to his presence; and when they were assembled he related to them his horrid dream, and requested that they would interpret its meaning to him. All were at a loss to explain it, until after a short time, one of the Mūbids or Priests of the Gabrs or Fire Worshippers, brought to Nūh-shīrwān's presence, a young man, a native of Marw of *Khurāsān*, who had lately been studying at Balkh, where was the great Ātish-Kadah or Temple of the Gabrs, who was named Abūzur Jamhir, or Būzur Jamhir, to interpret the monarch's dream, which still disturbed him greatly. The dream having been told him, he, after some consideration, explained it. He said: "In the Kisrā's *haram* (vul. "harem")—which contained upwards of one hundred ladies, the sisters and daughters of kings and petty rulers—there is one lady, the daughter of the Malik or king of Chāje (the ancient name of Farghānah) of Turkistān; and along with her, in the disguise of a slave girl, there is a youth, and he is on terms of intimacy with her." This interpretation amazed all present; and Nūh-shīrwān commanded that investigation should at once be made, and that all the ladies and female attendants of the *haram* should be brought before him one by one; and the young man, the *Khawājah*, Būzur Jamhir, was in attendance. He detected the youth disguised as a female slave; and he, along with his paramour, was forthwith put to death.

From that time forth, the favour of Nūh-shīrwān was bestowed upon the young Khwājah, whose esteem he acquired, and who rose to high rank, soon becoming his chief minister. At last, according to the chronicler, Abū-l-Faḡl-i-Baihaḡi, who wrote about the year 450 H. (1058 A.D.), Būzur Jamhir fell into disfavour, because he abandoned the faith of Zurtusht (vul. "Zoroaster"), and became a convert to Christianity. Nūh-shīrwān cast him into prison in consequence; and notwithstanding the tortures to which he was subjected by "The Just" monarch—in this instance sufficiently Unjust—to get him to recant, he would not do so. He held out, and eventually became blind, and totally so, as it was supposed, from the tortures to which he had been subjected; but others say he was blinded by Nūh-shīrwān's command.

To return to the envoy from the ruler of Sind, and the game of chess. Nūh-shīrwān, and the learned men of his court, never having seen anything of the kind before, were, of course, quite unable to understand the game, and were at a loss to explain it. At this time Būzur Jamhir had been deprived of his sight, which Nūh-shīrwān is said to have greatly regretted when too late; but the sage was still in confinement. He was now sent for; and when he entered the presence of Nūh-shīrwān the latter expressed his regret for what had been done. Būzur Jamhir replied: "When a king becomes angry with a servant, it behoveth him to deprive the servant of something or other, in order that, should his sovereign subsequently relent, and show compassion towards his servant, he may be able to restore it to him again; but the blessing of sight cannot be thus restored when once destroyed." Nūh-shīrwān was quite abashed at these words, and felt completely humbled; and the sage continuing, said: "But through the auspicious fortune of the king, my sovereign, a little sight still remains in his servant's eyes." Having expressed his delight at hearing these words from the mouth of the sage and returning thanks to Heaven that he was not totally blind, Nūh-shīrwān had the envoy from the Rai of Sind called in; and when he entered, the chess-men and the cloth were produced for Būzur Jamhir to look at, and to discover, if he could, how the game was played. Būzur Jamhir, after examining the chess-men, said to the envoy: "Come along with me that I may play a game with thee." The envoy accompanied him accordingly; and ranging one half the chess-men on the cloth, he waited to see what Būzur Jamhir would do. He ranged his chess-men exactly after the same manner; and the Sindi envoy commencing to move, Būzur Jamhir followed him in his moves. He lost the first game, but improved on the second, which was a drawn game, and beat the Rai's envoy in the third, and checkmated him!

The sage subsequently, in the retirement of his prison, improved

upon the game of *Nard* or Backgammon. He did not invent it, as some have supposed; for it had been known long before, as I have already shown. But, in former times, before Būzur Jamhīr improved upon it, the dice were but two, on each of which were fifteen marks or dots, which being added up made thirty, and the game was single. Būzur Jamhīr added one dice more, and five other *mansūbahs* or points, as now used; and when he had completed his improvements, a complete set was despatched to the ruler of Sind, as he had requested. What the upshot of the Rai's challenge was respecting the game of chess has not been recorded.

The names of the seven *mansūbahs* or points in *Nard* or Backgammon, as improved by the sage, Būzur Jamhīr, are, 1. *Kād*, which means quantity. 2. *Ziyād*, increase or growth. 3. *Satārah*, veil, curtain, star or fortune. 4. *Hazāran*, thousands. 5. *Khānah-gīr*, holder or possessor of the house or compartment. 6. *Tawīl*, long prolix, tall; and 7. *Mansūbah*, plan, project, scheme, or game.

The Arabian prophet, Muḥammad, was born in the fortieth year of the reign of the Kisrā, Nūh-shīrwān; and the historian, Abū-l-Faḍl-i-Baiḥaḳī, previously quoted, who states that Būzur Jamhīr had become a Christian, says, that the sage, shortly after these events, died from the effects of the ill-treatment he had been subjected to; and that a year after his death, Nūh-shīrwān himself, "departed to the Fire-Temple below," after a reign of forty-seven years, when Muḥammad was in his seventh year, 576 A.D. He died a natural death, and was never deposed, as Gibbon tells us; but his son and successor, Hurmuz, was.

The pieces in the game of chess were, at first, wooden figures having the human form; and what is known now as the King, was then called *Shāh Bādshāh*, from *Shāh* son of Rai Bhalit. The Castle or Tower of the present was then styled the *Rukh*, after that fabulous bird, as before mentioned; the Bishop of the present day, was then the *Fil* or *Pil* (f and p are permutable) or Elephant, and was sometimes called the Camel; the Knight or Chevalier was known as the *Faras*, or *Asp*, signifying a Horse; the Queen was styled *Farz*, or *Farzīn*, or *Farzī*, or *Farzān*, and also *Wazir* or Minister; and the Pawn or Foot-soldier or Common Man, was called *Piyadah* as those words signify. "*Shāshdār*" means "Confounded," "Distressed," "Astonished," "Useless for a square," "Tied up;" and "*Shāh Māt*," as before mentioned, means "*Shāh Bādshāh*, or *Shāh*, the King, is reduced to the last extremity, conquered," etc.

The names used in India differ somewhat, most of them being derived from the Sanskrit language.

The wise and accomplished Khalifah, Al-Māmūn, son of Harūn-ar-Rashīd, composed some lines on chess, which literally are as follow :—

“Upon a square of red-dressed leather,
Two friends, for generosity well-known,
Re-call war to mind, and thereon stratagems invent.
Without the guiltiness of shedding blood therein,
This assaults that, and that assails this ;
And the eye of vigilance sleepeth not.
Behold the ingenious foes ! how skilfully they move
Between two hosts, without banner or drum.”

Bābhan.—By MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA HARAPRASĀD SHASTRI.

[Read 5th March, 1902.]

There are in Behar and in Benares a class of men known as *Bābhans* or *Bhui-hārs*. Their position in Hindu society is extremely anomalous. They claim to be *Brāhmans* but no good *Brāhmans* such as the *Kanojia* and *Sarayūpāriyā* treat them on equal terms. They would neither inter-marry with them nor eat with them. On seeing a *Brāhman* a *bābhana* makes his obeisance, saying: "*Paon lagi*," (I touch your foot), the *Brāhman* does not nod in return but pronounces a benediction as he would do to an inferior caste.

The high position attained by some members of this class, such as the *Mahārājās* of *Hatna*, *Tikāri*, *Betia*, and in the North-Western Provinces of Benares has raised them in the estimation of the Hindus, and some of them now claim to be *Brāhmans* and profess to be students of *Yajurveda*. But the professors of other *Vedas* too are not rare.

The anomalous position held by these has long attracted the attention of scholars. The *Pandits* think that they are *Mūrdhā-bhīṣiktas* a class between *Brāhmans* and *Kṣatriyas*. So they bow to the *Brāhmans* and *Brāhmans* pronounce benediction on them. They offer a curious problem to these engaged in the investigation of castes and occupations of Indian people.

I was struck the other day to find in the *Asoka* inscriptions, the term *Bābhan* used several times as a corruption of the word *brāhmana* in the pillar inscriptions. In one place it is used with the *Ajivikas* a well-known sect of ascetics in ancient India whom *Kei* identifies with the *Bhāgavatas*. In another place it is used in connection with the *Çramaṇas*, Buddhist monks.

Now the question is, why is the *Asoka* corruption, i.e., Buddhist Corruption, of the word *Brāhman* be the proper name of a peculiar class of men who claim to be *Brahmans*, whose claim is not admitted by *Brāhmans*?

In Hindu Sanskrit works we often hear of *Brahmana Çramaṇas*,

i.e., those who were Brahmans once but had become Āramāṇas and lost their Brāhmanhood, but still they are called Brāhmans.

From these two facts I have been led to conclude that the Bābhans were Brāhman-Buddhists who lost their caste and position in Hindu Society, but on the destruction of Buddhism are again trying, though unconsciously, to regain the old position they enjoyed 2,000 years ago.

Leaving the safe ground of philology if I am permitted to speculate a little, I believe I have got the derivation of the word Bhūmi-hāraka. After the fall of Buddhism these Bābhans misappropriated the rich monastic lands and from that fact they are called Bhūmi-hāraḥ. The word Bhūmi-hāraka is not a Sanskrit word. It is not to be found in any Sanskrit Dictionary. It is a Sanskritized form of the Hindi word Bhūmi-hāra, the misappropriator of land.

The geographical distribution of the class (Bābhan) favours the theory of their Buddhistic origin. They are to be found in western Bihar and eastern Kōṣala countries where Buddhism originated and lingered longest.

Note on a find of Copper Coins in the Wun District, Barār.—By
MAJOR WOLSELEY HAIG, First Assistant Resident, Haidarābād.

(With Plates I and II.)

[Read 5th March, 1902.]

In 1900 some labourers working in a field at Dhanaj in the Dārwha Ta'alluq of the Wun District found a number of copper coins buried under the soil. The matter was reported and 1,227 coins were recovered. I have examined these coins and find that they are, with a few exceptions, coins of the later Mughal emperors from the Ēlicpūr mint. The following descriptive catalogue of them forms a supplement to the late Mr. Rodgers' paper on Mughal copper coins published in Vol. LXIV (Part I) of the Society's Journal. There are a few Dakani coins which will be specially noticed.

I. The first coin which I shall notice is the most interesting, and, I believe, the rarest in the find. It is a copper coin of Kalimu'llāh Shāh, the last Sultān of the Bahmani dynasty. This Sultān ascended the throne in 1525 A.D., and died in 1527 without ever having really reigned, being for a considerable part of the interval between his accession and his death a fugitive. His coins are not, however, so rare as might be supposed, as money was, I believe, minted in his name even after his death. Muḥammad Azīz Mirzā of Haidarābād has some specimens of this coin in his collection, and I have one.

I have illustrated this coin (pl. I, No. 1). I read the inscriptions on the coin as follows—

الله	الله
كليم	بنصر
السلطان	الموید
البهمني	

II. The second coin which I have illustrated is one of which I have not been able to decipher the inscriptions. From the appearance and style of the coin I think it must be attributed to one of the later Qutb Shāhi Sultāns of Gulkunda. I form this opinion from the arrangement of the words السلطان on the reverse, (pl. I, No. 2).

III. No. 3, pl. I, No. 8, pl. I and No. 22, pl. II are illustrations of what I believe to be specimens of the same coin. I am unable to give a satisfactory reading of the inscriptions. The words *السلطان* are legible on the obverse and on two specimens the name of the mint town (*حیدرآباد*) preceded apparently by *ضرب* appears on the reverse. After comparing these coins with other specimens in the collection of the Rev. H. B. Hyde I attribute them to Sultān 'Abdu-'llāh Quṭb Shāh, the fifth Sultān of the Quṭb Shāhi dynasty.

IV. No. 4, pl. I, is an illustration of a copper coin of Jahāngīr. On the obverse nothing but the Emperor's title is legible. On the reverse what I take to be the name of the mint appears, but I am unable to decipher it.

V. There are two Mughal copper coins of the Sūrat mint. One is of the same type as Nos. 67 and 68, pl. XVII, J.A.S.B., part I, Vol. LXIV. These coins, though illustrated, were not described by Mr. Rodgers. I do not know to which Emperor they are to be ascribed.

VI. The next Sūrat coin is one of Shāh Jahān, struck in the eleventh year of his reign. This coin is of the same type as No. 32, pl. XIV, J.A.S.B., part I, Vol. LXIV. I need not therefore illustrate it.

VII. No. 5, pl. I, is a coin of Aurangzib 'Ālamgīr I, struck at the Ēlīpūr mint. The execution of the die of this coin is very rude. The "teeth" of the letter *ش* are separated from one another, as is sometimes the case in the copper coins of the later Mughals. The date of the coin is A.H. 1114, and my reading of the inscriptions is as follows—

(عالم گیر)

شاه

پادشاه

۱۱۱۴

ی

(سکه مبار)

ضرب

ایلچپور

فلوس

VIII. (1). No. 12, pl. I, is a dated coin of Aurangzib 'Ālamgīr I, from the Ēlīpūr mint. The date is A.H. 1112. There are three coins of this type. I have illustrated the best specimen. I read the inscriptions as follows—

(امگیر)

پادشاه

۱۱۱۲

س

فلو

ایلچپور

(2). No. 11, pl. I, is also a dated coin of 'Ālamgir I, from the Ēlicpūr mint. Though it bears the same date as the coins mentioned in the last paragraph the type is somewhat different. I have therefore illustrated it. The inscriptions are as follows—

عالم (گیر)	ایلیچپور
پادشاه	
ک	
سکہ مبار (۱)	فلوس

(3). No. 18, pl. II, is an illustration of another dated coin of Aurangzib 'Ālamgir I, from the Ēlicpūr mint. There are two coins of this type. The unit in the date on the coin illustrated is not clearly legible. I take to be ۵. The coin not illustrated bears the date 1114. I read the inscriptions as follows—

عالمگیر	ضرب
۱۱۱۵	ایلیچپور
پادشاه	
ک	
سکہ مبار	فلوس

(4). There are 253 coins of the Ēlicpūr mint which I attribute to Aurangzib 'Ālamgir I. They are undated and the only title or name which appears on them is عالمگیر. The style of the inscriptions leads me to ascribe them to Aurangzib rather than to 'Azizu-'d-dīn 'Ālamgir II. These coins which are illustrated in Nos. 19 and 20 (pl. II) are of two types. In No. 19 the title is divided thus عالم گیر, while in the other it is within as one word عالمگیر. I read them as follows—

(19)	عالم گیر	ضرب
	پادشاه	ایلیچپور
	ک	
	سکہ مبار	فلوس
(20)	عالمگیر	ضرب
	پادشاه	ایلیچپور
	ک	
	سکہ مبار	فلوس

IX. (1). No. 14, pl. I, is a coin of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur I, bearing the date 1122. It is also described, if my reading is correct, as having been struck at the Ēlicpūr mint in the third year of the reign. Shāh

‘Alam Bahādur succeeded his father in A.H. 1118 so that the third year of his reign would begin in 1120. It may be that the reign was sometimes reckoned from the date on which Shāh ‘Ālam overcame his brother, Kām Bakhsh (Zi-l-Qa’dah 3, A.H. 1120), or from the date of his victory over his brother Muḥammad A’zam Shāh in A.H. 1119, in which case the third year of the reign would have extended into 1122. I read the inscriptions as follows—

بہادر	ب
شاہ	ضرب
پادشاہ	ایلچپور ۳
۱۱۲۲	فلوس

Under the د of بہادر there is an ornament.

(2). No. 15, pl. II, is another coin of Shāh ‘Ālam Bahādur I, of the Ēlicpūr mint, bearing the date 1120. The inscriptions are as follows—

شاہ عالم	۲ ایلچپور
۱۱۲۰	فلوس

Under the last two letters of ‘Ālam there appears to be an ornament similar to that on the coin last mentioned. The figure 2, representing the year of the reign is clearly legible on the reverse of this coin, which follows the ordinary reckoning of the years of the reign of Shāh ‘Ālam Bahādur.

(3). Nos. 9 and 10, pl. I, are two coins of Shāh ‘Ālam Bahādur I, both of the Ēlicpūr mint but of slightly different types. No. 9 is dated 1121. There is no date on No. 10. The inscriptions on the reverse of the coins are differently arranged. There were four of these coins in the find, two of each type. I read the inscriptions as follows—

(9)		ضرب
	۱۱۲۱	فلوس
	شاہ عالم بہادر	ایلچپور
(10)		ایلچپور
	شاہ عالم	فلوس

(4) There are seven coins of Shāh ‘Ālam Bahādur I, all of the Ēlicpūr mint and all dated 1121. These coins are similar in type to the coin illustrated (No. 52) in plate XV, Vol. LXIV, Part I, of the Journal, and there is no need for me to illustrate them here.

X. (1). There are sixteen dated coins of Muḥammad Shāh, all of the Ēlicpūr mint and all practically of the same type. The only variation is that the date appears in one example (1141) above the ش in the word پادشاه while in the other fifteen coins the date is immediately below that letter. Of these coins fourteen bear the date 1139 and two the date 1141. The year of the reign appears on the reverse of seven of those bearing the former date and one of those bearing the latter. No. 6, pl. I, is an illustration of one of these coins. The inscriptions are as follows—

محمد	
شاه	
پادشاه	
۱۱۳۹	۹
ک	ایلچپور
سکه مبار	فلوس

(2). No. 13, pl. I, is another coin of Muḥammad Shāh, dated the twenty-third year of the reign. This is a coin of the Ēlicpūr mint but differs slightly from the coins mentioned in the preceding paragraph. There are two coins of this type, the other being dated in the nineteenth year of the reign. The inscriptions are as follows—

محمد	۲۳
شاه	ضرب
پادشاه	ایلچپور
ک	
سکه مبار	فلوس

(3). There are 117 undated coins of Muḥammad Shāh in this find, all of the Ēlicpūr mint. I have not thought it necessary to illustrate these coins as they are exactly similar to Nos. 6 and 13 (pl. I), except that they bear no date. The inscriptions are as follows—

محمد	
شاه	ضرب
پادشاه	ایلچپور
ک	
سکه مبار	فلوس

XI. No. 7, pl. I, is a coin of Aḥmad Shāh the son and successor of Muḥammad Shāh. There are 48 coins of this type, all undated and

all from the Ēlicpūr mint. These coins so much resemble those of Muḥammad Shāh that they can be distinguished from them only by the tail of the *alif*, the first letter of احمد or by the ح in احمد being unconnected with any previous letter. I have chosen the best specimen for illustration. The inscriptions are as follows—

احمد	
شاه	ضرب
پادشاه	ایلچپور
ی	
سکه مبار	فلوس

XII. There are 23 coins attributable either to Muḥammad Shāh or to Aḥmad Shāh. They are similar in type to Nos. 6, 7 and 13, pl. I, but bear no date. The inscriptions on these coins are incomplete and it is impossible to say to which reign they belong. The name is either محمد or احمد but it is impossible to say which.

XIII. No. 16, pl. II, is an illustration of a dated coin of 'Azīzū-d-dīn 'Ālamgīr II. There are four of these coins, all of the Ēlicpūr mint. Two bear the date 1172 one bears the date 1173 and the unit in the date on the fourth is not clearly legible, but is either 2 or 3. The inscriptions are as follows—

عالمگیر	
۱۱۷۳	ضرب
پادشاه	ایلچپور
ی	
سکه مبار	فلوس

XIV. (1). No. 17, pl. II, is a dated coin of Shāh 'Ālam II, minted at Ēlicpūr. It bears on the reverse the figures 78, which I take to be the last two figures of the date 1178. The inscriptions are as follows—

عالم	
شاه	۷۸ ضرب
پادشاه	ایلچپور (۱۱)
ی	
سکه مبار	فلوس

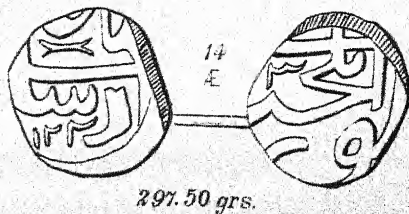
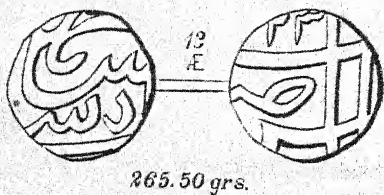
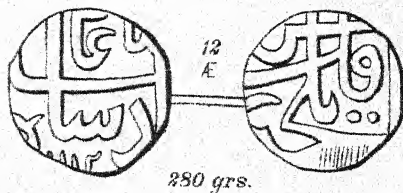
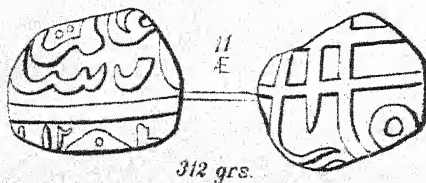
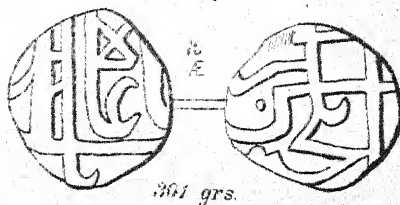
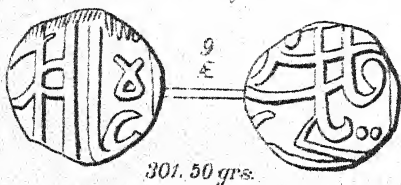
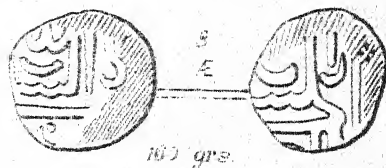
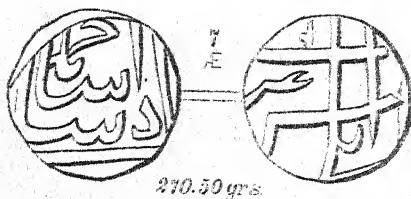
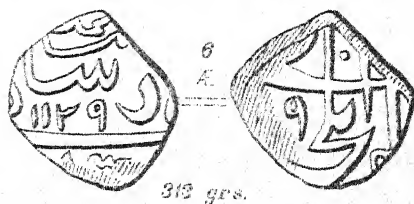
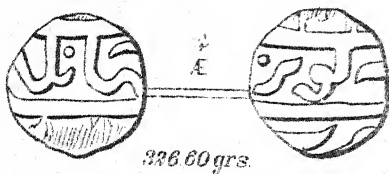
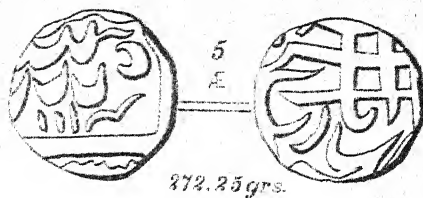
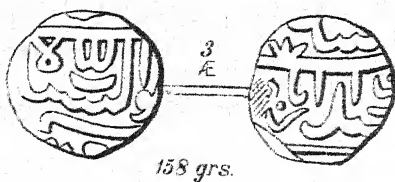
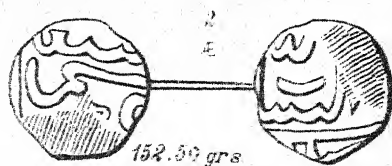
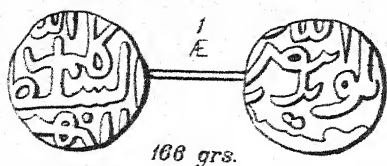
(2). No. 21, pl. II, is a coin of Shāh 'Ālam II, of the Ēlicpūr mint. There are seven of these coins on which the year of the reign is legible and seventy-four coins exactly similar to them in type, except that

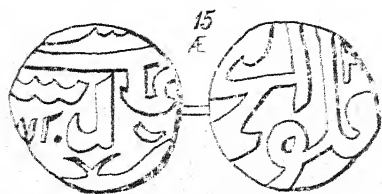
the year of the reign is either wanting or illegible. The inscriptions are as follows—

عالم	۱۱
شاه	ضرب
پادشاه	ایلیچپور
ک	
سکه میار	فلوس

XV. There are 734 coins the inscriptions on which are either imperfect or illegible, so that it is impossible to assign them to any Emperor, but they are all copper coins of the later *Mughals* from the *Ēlicpūr* mint.

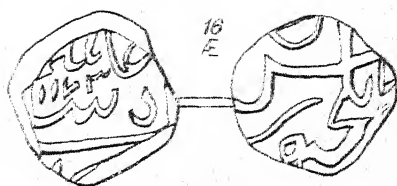
The *Dhanaj* find contains, I think, a fairly complete collection of *Mughal* copper coins from the *Ēlicpūr* mint. I am not aware when that mint was established but there are no *Ēlicpūr* coins in the find earlier than the reign of *Aurangzib*. There are also no coins of the reigns of *Jahāndār Shāh*, *Farrukhsiyar*, *Rafī'u-d-darajat* and *Rafīu-d-daulah*. It is probable that none of these Emperors except, perhaps, *Farrukhsiyar*, coined at *Ēlicpūr*.





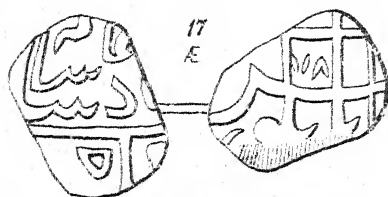
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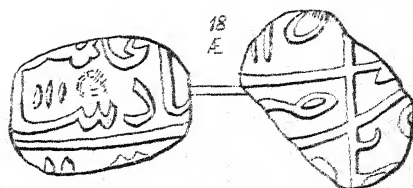
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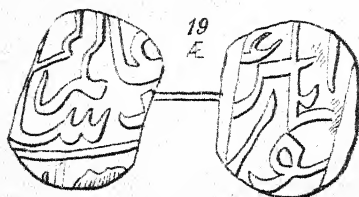
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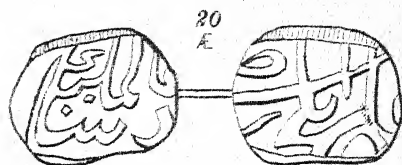
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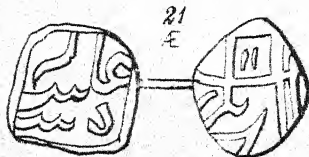
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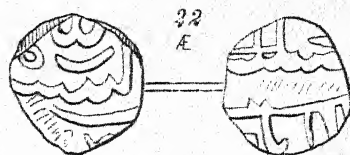
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JOURNAL OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

—||—
Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. 2—1902.

Notes on the Dialect of the Kangra Valley, with Glossary of words peculiar to the Kangra District.—By THE LATE EDWARD O'BRIEN
DEPUTY COMMISSIONER OF KANGRA.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

Singular.

Nominative	...	...	<i>Main</i> , "I."
Accusative	}	...	<i>Minjo</i> , "me, to me."
Dative		...	
Agent	...	...	<i>Main</i> , "by me."
Ablative	...	...	<i>Minjo te</i> , "from me."
Locative	...	...	<i>Minjo vich</i> , "in me."
		...	<i>Minjo upar</i> , "on me."

Plural.

Nominative	}	...	...	<i>Assán</i> , "we."
Agent		...	...
Accusative	}	...	...	<i>Assán jo</i> , "us, to us."
Dative		...	...
Ablative		...	...	<i>Assán tea</i> , "from us."
Genitive	...	...	...	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <i>*Mhúra</i> <i>Mháre</i> <i>Mhári</i> </div> "our, ours."
Locative	...	...	...
		
		...	...	<i>Assán vich</i> , "in us."
		...	...	<i>Assán upar</i> , "on us."

The second Personal Pronoun is declined as follows :—

Singular.

Nominative	...	...	<i>Tú</i> , "thou."
Dative	}	...	<i>Tijo</i> , "thee, to thee."
Accusative		...	
Agent	...	...	<i>Tain</i> , "by thee."
Ablative	...	...	<i>Tijo tea</i> , "from thee."

* This is like the Márwari forms of Hindi, cf. *Máwári*, *Mháre*, "our, ours."

Genitive	...	...	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} Tera \\ Teri \\ Tere \end{array} \right\}$	"of thee, thine."
Locative	...	...	<i>Tijo vich</i> ,	"in thee."
<i>Plural.</i>				
Nominative	...	...	<i>Tussán</i> ,	"you."
Dative	}	...	<i>Tussán jo</i> "you, to you."	
Accusative		...		
Agent	...	...	<i>Tussán</i> ,	"by you."
Ablative	...	...	<i>Tussán te</i> ,	"from you."
Genitive	...	...	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} Tumhárá \\ Tumhári \\ Tumháre \end{array} \right\}$	"of you, yours."
Locative	...	...	<i>Tussán vich</i> ,	"in you."

The Proximate Demonstrative Pronoun is declined as follows :—

Singular.

Nominative	...	...	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} Eh, "this, he." \\ Eh, "this." \end{array} \right\}$	
Accusative	}	...	<i>Is jo</i> , "this, to this."	
Dative		...		
Agent	...	...	<i>Ini</i> ,	"by this."
Ablative	...	...	<i>Is te</i> ,	"from this."
Genitive	...	...	<i>Is da</i> , etc.,	"of this."
Locative	...	...	<i>Is vich</i> ,	"in this."

Plural.

Nominative	...	...	<i>Eh</i> ,	"these, they."
Accusative	}	...	<i>Iná jo</i> , "these, to these."	
Dative		...		
Agent	...	...	<i>Ina ne</i> ,	"by these."
Ablative	...	...	<i>Ina tea</i> ,	"from these."
Genitive	...	...	<i>Ina da</i> ,	"of these."
Locative	...	...	<i>Ina vich</i> ,	"in these."

EXAMPLE.

Eh sach galánde je asá jië narísá mare.

They say this true, that the hopeful lives, the hopeless dies.—
Kángra Proverb.

The Interrogative Pronoun *Kyá* "what?" is declined as follows :—

Plural.

Nominative	...	...	<i>Kyá</i> ,	"what?"
Dative	}	...	<i>Kajo</i> , "for what?"	
Accusative		...		

Ablative	...	...	<i>Kes tea</i> , "from what?"
Locative	...	...	<i>Kes vich</i> , "in what?"

EXAMPLE.

Ráti de hanḍhne dí kyá phal paeá.

Janghán dá núr guáe Rám.

Of wandering on foot at night what fruit did you get?

You spoiled the splendour (literally, light) of your legs, Oh Ram!—*Marriage Song*.

The Interrogative Pronoun *Kun* "who?" is thus declined:—

Singular.

Nominative	...	...	<i>Kun</i> , "who?"
Dative	}	...	<i>Kus jo</i> , "whom," "to whom?"
Accusative		...	
Ablative	...	...	<i>Kus tea</i> , "from whom?"
Genitive	...	...	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{Kus da} \\ \textit{Kus di} \\ \textit{Kus de} \end{array} \right\}$ "of whom?"
* Agent	...	...	<i>Kuni</i> , "by whom?"

Plural.

Nominative	...	...	<i>Kun</i> , "who?"
Dative	}	...	<i>Kinán jo</i> "whom" "to whom?"
Accusative		...	
Ablative	...	...	<i>Kinán tea</i> , "from whom?"
Genitive	...	...	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{Kinán da} \\ \textit{Kinán di} \\ \textit{Kinán de} \end{array} \right\}$ "of whom?"
Agent	...	...	<i>Kinán</i> , "by whom?"

Terá mungiá dupattá kini rangi ditá.

By whom was your green dupattá dyed?—*Marriage (Kángra)*.

REMOTE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN *Oh* "that," "she," "he," "it."

*Singular.**Plural.*

Nominative	<i>Oh</i> , " he " ... <i>Oh</i> , " they."
Dative ...	} <i>Us jo</i> , " him, to him" <i>Unán jo</i> , "them, to them."
Accusative	
Agent ...	<i>Uni</i> , " by him " <i>Unán</i> , " by them."
Genitive ...	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{Us da} \\ \textit{Us di} \\ \textit{Us de} \end{array} \right\}$ " of him"... $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{Unán da} \\ \textit{Unán de} \end{array} \right\}$ " of them."

* *Kini* is also in use for the agent.

CORRELATIVE PRONOUN *Seh*.

	Singular.	Plural.
Nominative	<i>Seh</i> "that, the same," <i>Seh</i> .	
Dative ...	} <i>Tis jo</i> ...	} <i>Tinán jo</i> .
Accusative		
Agent ...	<i>Tini</i> ...	<i>Tinán</i> .
Genitive ...	<i>Tis da</i> ...	<i>Tinán da</i> .
	<i>Tis di</i> ...	<i>Tinán di</i> .
	<i>Tis de</i> ...	<i>Tinán de</i> .

RELATIVE PRONOUN *Jo*.

	Singular.	Plural.
Nominative	<i>Jo</i> , "who, which"	<i>Jo</i> , "who, which."
Dative	} <i>Jis jo</i> , "to whom, to which."	} <i>Jinhán</i> and <i>Jinhán jo</i> .
Accusative		
Agent	<i>Jini</i> , "by whom"	<i>Jinhán</i> , "by whom."
Genitive	<i>Jis da</i> , "of whom"	<i>Jinhán da</i> , of whom.
Ablative	<i>Jis tea</i> , "from whom."	<i>Jinhán tea</i> , "from whom."

EXAMPLES.

Seh apni máü dá bará ladla he.

He is a great darling of his mother.

Tis di junasa bari laráki he.

His wife is very quarrelsome.

Main vakil bhi kitá. Tini dhavve máre, kichh ultar tini bhi nahin kitá.

I engaged a vakil. He consumed (my) money, (but) he did not even make any answer.

Jinhán musadián da bal, tinhán bhara perú pal.

Those who have the assistance of the officials, have their grain receptacles (*perú pal*) full.

Jinhán jo, Rajea, tera trán.

Those to whom, Oh Raja, is your help.

Tinhán de ghar na khán na manje bán.

To their houses is neither food nor strings for their beds.

PRONOMINAL ADJECTIVES OF KIND.

<i>Adehá,</i>	"such," "like this,"	Hindi,	<i>Aisá.</i>
<i>Tadehá,</i>	"such," "like that,"	"	<i>Waisá.</i>
<i>Jadehá,</i>	"like which," "as,"	"	<i>Jaisá.</i>
<i>Kadehá,</i>	"like what," "how,"	"	<i>Kaisí.</i>

EXAMPLES.

Adehá guár koi mere dekhne vich nahín aea.

No fool like this came within my experience (within my seeing).*

Seh sáhab kadehá he.

What is that sahib like?

Jadehá aglá thá tadcha hí he.

As the former was like that exactly is he.

AUXILIARY VERB *Honá*, "to be."

Present.

Singular.

Main hán, "I am."

Tú he, "you are."

Oh he, "he is."

Plural.

Assán hán, "we are" (hu).

Tussán hán, "you are" (hu).

Seh hán, "they are" (hin),

Future.

Main hongha, "I will be." *Assán honghe*, "we will be" (bhole).

Tu hongha, "thou wilt be." *Tussán honghe*, "you will be" (bhole).

Seh hongha, "he will be." *Seh honghe*, "they will be" (bhole).

The past *tha*, "was," is like Hindi.

Aj mere boṭi kamán pichhe ke rahi gas hán

To-day my ^{cook}_{kitchen} servants have remained behind. (Kángra).

Tussán aj kal kia pahṛde hán?

What are you reading nowadays?

Eh Rájpút halke hán.

These are low Rájpúts.—(Kángra).

Kasora ri wife bari khundar he.

Kasora's daughter is very handsome.—(Gádí of Dharamsála).

Aṭháhún te páhile jo sahib thú so kharú thú.

The sahib who was before him, he was good.

Pronominal Adverbs of direction like *idhar* "hither," *udhar* "thither," *jidhar* "whither," *tidhar* "thither," *kidhar* "whither," seem to be wanting in Jándari.†

* This would be in Gádí:—*Mhá gowár mere herne má ná á*

No fool like this came within my seeing.

(Observe—"herna," to see,

"ma" for *manj*, in,

"a," 3rd singular past tense of *and*, "to come"—*dyá*).

† Jándar or Jhándar is the term used by the Gaddis for the country not included in their country, the Gadderan. [It literally means 'cotton-clothed,' i.e., the people not dressed in woollen garments like the Gaddis.]

PRONOMINAL ADVERB OF MANNER.

Proximate Demonstrative.

Relative.

Ihán, "thus."

Jihán, "as."

Correlative.

Interrogative.

Tihán, "so."

Kihán, "how?"

ADVERBS OF TIME.

Agáhán, "before," (Hindi *áge*), also *agei*.

Aj, "to-day," as in Panjābi.

Kal, "to-morrow, yesterday."

Parsón, "the day before yesterday, or the day after to-morrow."

Chauth, "the fourth day past or future, counting to-day as the first day, tomorrow or yesterday as the second, &c.

Panjoth, "the fifth day."

Chioth, "the sixth day."

Pachahan, "after, afterwards."

Phiri, again."

Bhiágá, "in the morning."

Bárambár, "repeatedly."

Kadi kadái "sometimes, rarely."

Nit, "continually, always."

Pápi lok Paharie pathar jinhán de chit.

Ang maloá kadi kadái, nain maloá nit.

The mountain people are wretches, whose hearts are stone.

They join bodies rarely, they are always joining eyes.—Song.

Hun, "now."

ADVERBS OF PLACE.

Nere, "near."

Pár, "over, across."

Uár, "this side," *uár-pár*.Wál, "to, towards." *Tahsildáre wál já*, "go to the Tahsildár."Aresi paresi, "on both sides," "all around." (Hindi—*ús pás*).Puráhan, "on that side." (Hindi—*Pure*).Uráhan, "on this side." (Hindi—*Ure*).

Andar, "within," and báhar, "without," are as in Hindi.

Agáhan, "before."

Pacháhan, "behind."

Taithé, *Taithi*, "there."

Taithi Gádi saite galú bátú kari.

There with a Gadi I talked.—(*Dharamsala*).Handará, "elsewhere." *So apni zamín chaddi handara na gahnde*, "they abandoning their land do not go elsewhere."

PRONOMINAL ADVERBS OF TIME.

<i>Proximate Demonstrative.</i>	<i>Remote Demonstrative.</i>	<i>Relative.</i>
<i>Hun, ibhen, "now,"</i>	<i>Then.</i>	<i>Jálú, "when."</i>
<i>Correlative.</i>		<i>Interrogative.</i>
<i>Tálú, "then."</i>	...	<i>Kálú, "when."</i>

PRONOMINAL ADVERBS OF PLACE.

<i>Proximate Demonstrative.</i>	<i>Remote Demonstrative.</i>	<i>Relative.</i>
<i>Ithú, "here."</i>	<i>Othú, "there."</i>	<i>Jithu, "where."</i>
<i>Ithe (Kutlehr).</i>	...	...
<i>Correlative.</i>		<i>Interrogative.</i>
<i>Títhú, "there."</i>		<i>Kuthú, "where?"</i>
<i>Tailhe, "there."—(Gádi).</i>		

MARRIAGE SONG.

Ráti da hanḍhni jo chhaḍi deh, Kahná.

Hun hoeá gharbári, Rám.

Ageñ tú thá, Kahná, hálú guálú.

Hun hoeá gharbári, Rám.

Give up wandering at night, Oh Kahna !

Now you have become a married man, Oh Ram !

Before you were, Oh Kahna ! a ploughman and a cowherd !

Now you have become a married man, Oh Ram !

Mahrián dá sang chhaḍi, chhaddi deh, Kahna.

Hun hoeá gharbári, Rám.

Abandon, abandon the society of Gujar women, Kahna.

Now you have become a married man ! Oh Rám !

Mahar is a Gujar and *Mahari* a Gujar-woman.

THE NUMERALS.

1, <i>Ik.</i>	11, <i>Giára.</i>	21, <i>Iki.</i>	31, <i>Ikatri.</i>
2, <i>Do.</i>	12, <i>Bára.</i>	22, <i>Baí.</i>	32, <i>Batri.</i>
3, <i>Tre.</i>	13, <i>Tehrá.</i>	23, <i>Treí.</i>	33, <i>Tetri.</i>
4, <i>Chaur.</i>	14, <i>Chaudá.</i>	24, <i>Chaubi.</i>	34, <i>Chautri.</i>
5, <i>Panj.</i>	15, <i>Pandrá.</i>	25, <i>Panji.</i>	35, <i>Panjatri.</i>
6, <i>Chhia.</i>	16, <i>Solrá.</i>	26, <i>Chhabi.</i>	36, <i>Chhiatri.</i>
7, <i>Sat.</i>	17, <i>Satáro.</i>	27, <i>Satai.</i>	37, <i>Satatri.</i>
8, <i>Ath.</i>	18, <i>Athára.</i>	28, <i>Athai.</i>	38, <i>Athatri.</i>
9, <i>Nau.</i>	19, <i>Uni.</i>	29, <i>Unathi.</i>	39, <i>Untáli.</i>
10, <i>Das.</i>	20, <i>Bih.</i>	30, <i>Trihi.</i>	40, <i>Cháli.</i>

SONGS.

Songs sung by women at weddings of Brahmans, Rájputés and Khatri in Kángra—

Assán bachháí kálí kamalí jí,
Kurameñ bachháí sutraní jí ;
Tussán ai baho angañe

We have spread black blankets jí,
 The opposite party in marriage (Kuram) have spread carpets
 jí ;

Come you and sit down in the courtyard.

[Note.—In marriage parties the bride's family are "kurame" to the bridegroom's party and the bridegroom's party are "kurams" to the bride's. There is no English word which expresses the relationship.]

Kí tussán mangde tukrá,
Muchrá kí tussán síri de bhukhe the.
Assán mangde kurame diá dáriá,
Lei chubáre baiñhe the.

Question.—What morsel do you want ?

A piece, or are you hungry for the whole ?

Answer.—We want the wife of the Kuram,

They took her and were sitting in the upper storey.

GENEROSITY.

Máli Sáli sakke bhai,
Thikria rí dál banái ;
Chalande gidar tíre lae.
Sáli balandá bhujji khání ;
Máli balandá kání tissé há ;
Kání jo pujáni.

Máli and Sáli were two own brothers,
 They cooked a dish of dál ;
 They shot a running jackal with an arrow.
 Sáli says " Let's eat it fried ;"
 Máli says " The one-eyed woman is ill ;
 " Let's take it to the one-eyed woman."

Song on Rája Sansár Chand, Katoch Rájput of Kángra, marrying a pretty Gaddi woman whom he saw herding her cows.—(Dharamsála)—

Gaddi chāre bakriāñ,
Gaddin chāre gāe ;
Gharrá bhaje sapriāñ,
Binná khādhe gāe.
Her jatan ruia,
Rája Gaddin biāhe.

The Gaddi was grazing his goats;
 The Gaddi woman was grazing her cows;
 Her *gharra* was broken on the rocks,
 The cows ate the pad (worn between the head and the jar on it).
 Seeing her young face,
 The Rája married the Gaddin.

JHÁNDAR SONG.

1. *He.—Pussi, pussi,
 Kajo russi,
 Láhula giá manánu ;
 Chal pussi bhat khána.
 She.—Jána juránu,
 Main nahín anda.*
2. *Páni nahín mukdi :
 Tand nahín trutdi ;
 Sas nahín akhdi
 Jo pánie jo jáná.
 The ball of wool never comes to an end.
 The thread never breaks;
 My mother-in-law never says
 " Go for water."*

SAHNU MALI'S SONG.

Gaddi song—

- (1). *Súhi, súhi pagri na lání,*
- (2). *Máliá Sahnúá bo !*
- (3). *Manhú balale je lilári,*
- (4). *Baṭi ri jhinjan mangáni,*
- (5). *Máliá Sahnúá bo !*
- (6). *Piṭi teri katerá khalrú ?*
- (7). *Láliá Tundiá bo !*
- (8). *Peṭe kase-rú halarú ?*
- (9). *Sáliá Tundiá bo !*
- (10). *Peṭe máli-ra halarú.*
- (11). *Sáliá Tundiá bo !*
- (12). *Kugti-rá teká na lená,*
- (13). *Máliá Sahnúá bo !*
- (14). *Káli, káli, dagli na láná,*
- (15). *Máliá Sahnúá bo !*
- (16). *Manhú balale je há Tekadár,*
- (17). *Máliá Sahnúá bo !*
- (1). *A red, red pagri do not put on,*
- (2). *Oh Máli Sahnú !*

- (3). People will say you are a dyer ;
 - (4). Bring rice of Bhaṭī.
 - (5). Oh Málí Sáhnu !
 - (6). Oh, what is the skin on your back (full) ?
 - (7). Oh Lálá Tundi !
 - (8). In your womb whose child is there ?
 - (9). Oh Sálí Tundi !
 - (10). In your womb is Málí's child,
 - (11). Oh Sálí Tundi.
 - (12). Do not take the farm of Kugti,
 - (13). Oh Málí Sáhnu !
 - (14). A black, black coat do not put on,
 - (15). Oh Málí Sáhnu !
 - (16). People will say he is a farmer,
 - (17). Oh Málí Sáhnu !
- (Note.—(2), "Málí Sáhnu," (7), "Lálá Tundiá," (9) "Sálí Tundi."
Málí, Lálá and Sálí are the names of the persons.
Sáhnu and Tundi are the names of their castes.
(3), "Balale" is the 3rd person plural, future tense,
from balna, "to say."

Het, s. f., remembrance, memory. "Abe het ai minjo," no remembrance came to me.

THE WOOING OF SAMBHÚ.

1. *Sambhúá méré mūrīyá dá náṭ !*
 2. *Sambhúá dherá* ⁽²⁾ *hai láí.* ⁽¹⁾
 3. *Dherá hoi láí bo meri ján !*
 4. *Sambhúá dherá hoi láí.*
 5. *Kanaka* ⁽³⁾ *ri roṭi, ghiú, dúl,*
 6. *Sambhúá khái kari já,*
 7. *Khái kari já bo meri ján !*
 8. *Dohar dindi* ⁽⁴⁾ *bachhái,*
 9. *Sambhúá soi kari* ⁽¹⁾ *já,*
 10. *Soi kari já meri ján !*
 11. *Sambhúá soi kari já,*
 12. *Kálá jíná* ⁽⁵⁾, *ḍorá* ⁽⁶⁾ *hachhi* ⁽⁷⁾, *choli* ⁽⁸⁾
 13. *Ammá meri ! Sambhúá áyá bo.*
1. Oh Sambhú, my first dancer !
 2. Oh Sambhú ! be slow (i.e., stay here).
 3. Be slow, my life !
 4. Oh Sambhú be slow.
 5. Bread of wheat, ghi and dúl,
 6. Oh Sambhú ! eat before you go : (literally "having eaten go.")

7. Eat before you go, my life !
8. I am spreading a shawl.
9. Oh Sambhú, sleep before you go : (literally " having slept go.")
10. Sleep before you go, my life !
11. Oh Sambhú ! sleep before you go,
12. (With) a black like girdle (and) a white frock,
13. Oh mother ! my Sambhú has come.

- Notes.*—(1). " Hoi lai," " khái kari," and " soi kari " are the conjunctive participles from the verbs " hona," " khaaná" and " soná" respectively. In Hindi these forms would be " ho karke," " khá karke " and " so karke."
- (2). " Dhera " is the Hindi and Panjabi " dhirá," " slow," whence comes " dhiraj," " slowness," " dhirtái," " patience " and other derivatives.
- (3). " Kanaka." The short *a* at the end of " kanak" is added to nouns ending in a consonant to prepare them for receiving the case affix *rā*.
- (4). " Dīndī " is the present participle feminine, from " dinda," " to give. "
- (5). " Jina " is the pronominal adjective of similarity and corresponds to " jaisa " in Hindi.
- (6). " Ḍorā " is the cord of black wool the Gaddī winds round his waist. Gaddī women also wear it, and the " ḍorā " is used as a binder by women after child-birth.
- (7). " Hachhī " is the feminine of the adjective " hachhá," " white."
- (8). " Choli " is the capacious woollen frock worn by Gaddī men and women. It is secured round the waist by the " ḍorā." The " cholī " comes down to the knees on men and to the ankles on women. The " ḍorā " round the waist makes a large body in the " cholá " above the waist. The body is called the " khokh," and forms a receptacle for very miscellaneous articles, such as a number of newly born lambs, bread, and wool for spinning.

THE GADDI GIRL'S CHOICE OF A HUSBAND.

1. Tá búḍhrú jo na dení, chachúá, dení, chachúá.
2. Sojre chúnḍe rand bholí ho.
3. Tá chákará jo na dení, chachúá, dení, chachúá.
4. Hak pánde uḥkí jánde ho.
5. Tá dúr-desí jo na dení, chachúá, dení, chachúá.

6. *Gorú chugánde jo deni ho.*
 7. *Tá rojí jo na deni, chachúá, deni, chachúá.*
 8. *Sajre chúnđe rand gáhli ho.*
 9. *Bhede charánde jo deni, chachúá, deni, chachúá.*
 10. *Khokh bhare lelá más ho.*
 11. *Bhedá de puhála nú jo deni, chachúá, deni, chachúá.*
 12. *Píthi jo delá cholú ho.*
1. To an old man do not give me, father, do not give me, father.
 2. I shall be a widow while my hair is (still) freshly done.
 3. To a servant do not give me, father, do not give me, father.
 4. A call comes—He gets up and goes (and leaves me).
 5. To one who lives far away do not give me father, do not give me, father.
 6. To one who grazes a herd of cattle give me.
 7. To a sick man do not give me, father, do not give me, father.
 8. I shall become a widow while my hair is (still) freshly done.
 9. To a herder of sheep give me, father, give me, father.
 10. He will bring me his pocket full of meat.
 11. To a tender of sheep give me, father, give me, father.
 12. He will give me a frock for my back.

Notes.—In translating this song all the “tás” and all the “hos” should be omitted. They are without meaning.

“Jo” in the first, third, fifth, sixth, seventh, ninth, eleventh, and twelfth lines is the sign of the dative case.

“Chách” in Gádí and “cháchú” in the valleys of Kángra is a common word “father.”

The meaning of the second and eighth lines is—“If you marry me to an old or a sick man I shall be a widow before my hair, which was done for my wedding, is ruffled,” *i.e.*, I shall be a widow before my wedding dress is worn out.

“Bholi” in the second line is the feminine third person singular future, from “bhona,” “to be.”

“Gorú” in the sixth line means a herd of horned cattle.

“Khokh” in the tenth line is the body of a Gaddi’s frock which is made into a pocket by the frock being tightly bound at the waist with a woollen rope called “dorá,” which passes several times round the waist. The “khokh” is used to carry miscellaneous articles. The wearer’s dinner may be seen in it or even half a dozen new-born lambs or kids.

“Gáhli” in the eighth line is the feminine third person singular future, from “gáhná,” “to go,” “to become.”

“Lelé” in the tenth line is third person singular future, from “lena,” “to bring.”

“Delá” in the twelfth line is third person singular future, from “dena,” “to give.”

"Cholá" is the woollen frock worn by both Gaddi men and women. It is made very capacious and loose, secured round the waist with a black woollen cord called "ḍorá." The "cholá" comes half down the thigh on men and to the ankles on women.

THE SONG OF RAJA GOPI CHAND.

1. *Chanan chaukí bo rūpi jāriyān Rājā Gopi Chand nahāe.*
 2. *Tā amar bholā bo aghnā chāndī bargā, ṭhendi būnd kathōn āe.*
 3. *Tā chhaje bo baiṭhī matā Nain Bantī nain bhari, bhari roe.*
 4. *Tā phirī uparhūn dekhe Rājā Gopi Chand, tā matā Nāin Bantī roe.*
 5. *Tā kūnī hī ditī, matā, tijo galiān ? Kūnī bole mande bol,*
 6. *Tā nahīn bo ditī, beṭā, minjo galiān, na bole mande bol.*
 7. *Tā kūnī bo herū, matā, mande nain ? Us de nainān kadhān.*
 8. *Tā na bo herū minjo, beṭā, mande nain, na koi galiān de.*
 9. *Tā jaisi kāyā, beṭā, terari taisi bāwal tere.*
 10. *Tā jal bal maṭiān ho gian hūi bhasamān dherī.*
 11. *Tā sikh deṅ, matā, meri pāie umar kāyā.*
 12. *Tā jog dhiāyā Rāje Bharthari, pāi umar kāyā.*
 13. *Tā jog bo dhiānā mo, matā, meri pāni umar kāyā.*
 14. *Tā jog bo dhiāyā Rāje Gopi Chande pāi umar kāyā.*
1. On a seat of sandal wood, with silver ewers, Rājā Gopi Chand was bathing.
 2. "The heaven is clear like silver, whence do the cold drops come ?"
 3. Sitting in the balcony his mother, Nain Banti, was weeping bitterly.
 4. Then again Rājā Gopi Chand looked up. His mother Nain Banti was weeping.
 5. *He.*—"Who gave, mother, to you abuse ? Who spoke evil words ?"
 6. *She.*—"Neither was given, son, to me abuse : nor were spoken evil words."
 7. *He.*—"Then who looked (at you), mother, with evil eyes ? His eyes I will tear out."
 8. *She.*—"No one looked at me, son, with evil eyes, nor gave me abuse.
 9. ("It was thinking that) as your body is, so was your father's."
 10. "He was burned and became clay. He became a heap of ashes."
 11. *He.*—"Then give me advice, mother, make my body immortal."
 12. *She.*—"Rājā Bharthari became an ascetic. He made his body immortal."

13. *He.*—I should become an ascetic, mother. I should make my body immortal.
 14. So Rája Gopi Chand became an ascetic. He made his body immortal.

A SONG.

1. *Nahlá dí tán Jati Lubáno jo chhali, chhali puchhdi.*
 2. *Tá dublá tán kit gúne hoia ho.*
 (A Jati of the valley chaffing, chaffing, a Lubána asks).
She.—For what reason have you become lean ?

-
3. *Tá ek tán bo fúfú, bo gorie, Jamúa dá kálá ho.*
 4. *Tán dúje bo tán túti balri prít ho.*

He.—First, oh fair one, the Jammu revenue is deficient (*i.e.*, I cannot pay the revenue).
 Secondly, the love of a girl is broken off (*i.e.*, I have been jilted).

-
5. *Tán dheḍu bálú deni hán Lubánúán.*
 6. *Bhari deni hán Jammúán de hále ho.*
 7. *Tán navvi, navvi lani hán prít ho.*

She.—Then you must sell your ear-rings and nose-ring, Lubána.
 You must pay in full the Jammu revenue.
 Then you must get a new, new love.

-
8. *Tá pahile bo tán hále bo Lubánúán dheḍú bálú deni hán.*
 9. *Dúje hále math dí janjiri ho.*

She.—Then at the first instalment, Lubána, you must sell your ear-rings and nose-ring.
 And at the second instalment the forehead chain.

-
10. *Tá amma bajhún rahni hán, Lubánúán.*
 11. *Bápú bajhún rahni hán.*
 12. *Túdh bajhún dhún bo madhúni ho.*

She.—Then you must remain without mother, Lubána,
 You must remain without father.
 Without thee I am silent (*i.e.*, sad).

A SONG.

Uchi, uchi marhiá merá sri thákar sondú ;
Rádhá báui jhulandi hán,

Krishna.—*Tú tú kajo ruṭhi ruṭhi meri Rukmaní Rádhá ;*
Tudh bin nindr na aundi háñ,

Rádhá.—*Tá darániáñ mochrú, jiṭháníáñ mochrú,*
Mú gorí mochrú nahí háñ.

Krishna.—*Tú tú mat ruṭhiñ, ruṭhiñ meri Rukmaní Rádhá ;*
Rádhá jo mochrú le dena háñ.

On a high, high eminence my Lord God is sleeping ;
 Rádhá is fanning a breeze.

Krishna.—Why are you pouting, pouting, my Rukmaní Rádhá ?
 Without you sleep does not come.

Rádhá.—My younger sisters-in-law (have) shoes, my elder
 sisters-in-law (have) shoes ;
 I fair-complexioned (have) no shoes ;
 (To me fair is no shoe, literally).

Krishna.—Do not pout, pout, my Rukmaní Rádhá !
 To Rádhá I will give shoes.
 (Literally—To Rádhá shoes are to give).

A DITTY.

<i>Khasam marie</i>	...	...	If a husband die.
<i>Dal bal karie.</i>			
<i>Khind tute...</i>	...	...	If a blanket is torn,
<i>Tali paie...</i>	...	...	Put on a patch,
<i>Ambar tute...</i>	...	...	If heaven splits,
<i>Kiá siná...</i>	...	...	How can one sew it ?
<i>Yár mare ...</i>	...	...	If a lover die,
<i>Kiá jiná...</i>	...	...	How can one live ?

Glossary of Words peculiar to the Kangra District.

Aj (aj), to-day.

Akhoka, adj., of this year, akho, as in "akhoki chhali parok, chhali thaun khari lin," "this year's maize is (*lit.*, are) better than last year's."

Alá, a bird's nest. "Kas pakhrue da alá hai?" (Of what bird is that the nest?)

Alhía = Amaltás. (Lambagráon).

Ambar, sky.

Amri, *báráni* land, cf. *otar*.

Andarwár, the court-yard of one or more houses. (Saloh).

Ang, *relationship*. (Shahpur). "Tahsildáre kane tis dá ang hai," (he is related to the Tahsildár).

Angujha, "not hidden," "known." (Saloh).

Ankhiá, trouble: "Mitr dusman ankhiá de waqat pachháne," (Friend and enemy are distinguished at the time of difficulty).

(Kángra).

Apan, but.

Ate, and.

Aunda, *drain*, a small drain cut across a field to drain it (= *chakra*).

Awán, áwáná, the court-yard of a house. (Hamirpur).

Bachálná, destroy, injure. (Kángra).

Badhna, to cut = Vadhna. (Bandla).

Bagar, a kind of grass, used for fodder and for ropes, *Andropogon involutus* and *Ercophorum cornosum* (Stewart); cf. gáo-dhan málá.

Bagur, s. f., air, wind. (Kutlehar).

Bahri, year.

G. Báhu, fore-quarter of a sheep. (Dharmśála).

Bái, a covered spring. "At the bái is the camp of Harjálá."

Also a woman's nipple.

(Garli song).

* Words to which G. is prefixed are peculiar to the Gádi dialect.

Báj, ploughed land. (Kaloḥa).

Bajhi, "except."

Bajog, loss.

Bajrothi, hard, strong, used of hard, round stones in a river-bed as opposed to the soft sandstone of the cliffs; cf. *kasarál*. (Baragráon).

Bakhán, ease, comfort.

Balad, in the south of the District, i. e., in Hamírpur and Dera, "balad" is used for bullock. In Pálampur, Kángra, and Núrpur dánd is used.

Balná, tell, speak.

Banj, excommunication. "Tujjo banj pá ditá" (I have excommunicated you).

Banná (=Samalu) *Vitex negundo*, Stewart, 166.

Baran, subst. masc. or verb, rain or to rain.

Baruṭhi, the court-yard of a house = *dalán*, cf. *áwán*. (Hamírpur)

Barsará (spelt barsálá), rainy season.

Bása, a hamlet when high up on a hill.

Basáh, trust.

Básand, ploughed land = *taraddadi*. (Garlí).

Basdi, a hamlet. (Kutlehar).

Basinda, a hamlet.

Basúntí, *Adhatoda Vasica*, Stewart, 164.

Bat, a road.

Baṭ, s. f. egg.

G. Bāt, wind, as in "baṭá bāt jalurá" ('a great wind is blowing')

Bat, upper millstone. Thali, under millstone. (Bhawarna.

Batrá, 1½ times, of interest. (Kutlehar).

Batti, a measure = two sérs pakka.

Baurá, sown.

Behand, capable of cultivation (cf. behan).

Beis (=bido,) a willow. Stewart, 206—8.

Bekanú, a wether.

Berá, a cluster of houses, a hamlet. (Dhatwál).

Betari, wife.

Bhájná, be broken, as in "haḍ bháji-go," (the bone was broken)

Bhagrári, a mallet for crushing clods.

Bhalel, fibre made from the bark of the *dhaman* tree. (Baragrón).

Bhangan, the name of a fish : (Bhadpur), Biás.

Bhanná, break.

Bhanor, see darohlá.

G. Bharaoh, s. f. hunger.

Bharautā, a clod-crusher. (Nadaunti).

Bhedu, a sheep generally, also a ram.

Bher, an ewe.

Bheth, a precipice. (Alampur).

"Bhitān dei dea," shnt the door (*lit.*, the planks, used here as a door).

Bhukrán, a clod-crusher. (Dera).

G. Biár, wind, as in "bari biár jalari" (a great wind is blowing).

Bido, see beis.

Bij, lightning when it strikes (it is said), while bijli = the flash.

Bilangan, a clothes' horse, a stick suspended by two ropes from the eaves of a house.

Bir, a ridge between fields. (Daro).

Birla, broad.

Biul, see dhaman.

Boglú, a Gaddi's purse of untanned skin.

Bohar, the upper storey in an agriculturist's house. (Sujánpur).

Búhlá, adj., low, depressed. (Nagrota).

G. Bujazú, tinder.

Bun, adv., below, as in "bun gích top" (go down and search).

Chach, father.

Chakona, square.

Chakra = aunda, *qu. vide.* (Malán).

Chamal, the plant which children call "Jack-in-the-box" (Garli).

Chamba, *Michelia campaca*, Stewart, 5.

Chamrá, skin (of cattle).

Chámri, skin (of a man),

Chatráti, mahser, cf. kakiáru. (Dera and Sujánpur).

Chbalu, a lamb.

Chhapola, a stile.

Chhiṛi, wood.

Chhopa, vaccination.

Chhú, the six-sided cactus.

Chhú-nali, water-cress.

Chhubba, the rope with which a load of grass is tied.

Chhumb, a stack of maize. (Kutlehar).

Chirindi, ? maple.

Chírná, to split.

Choi, a stream, a torrent.

Chorná, to strip, to skin.

Chou, a stream,—“ Is jiminiá ki tre chou lagde, tap nau hans ; ”
(to this land three streams are attached, there are nine months
for the water). (Kángra).

Chunchal, a sort of blackbird with a blue tinted plumage in the
sun.

Chura, parched rice.

G. Churiáṭi, hind quarter of a sheep. (Dharmśála).

Dah, courtship, as in “ meri dah karni ” (make love to me)

Dadhuni, hive.

Dagúlá, grape-vine, and Dhura, grape.

Dand, tooth.

Danga, a stone wall.

Dangu, a scorpion.

Darohla, the multicorn, domesticated tree-bee ; cf. bhanor, the
unicorn, wild tree-bee.

Dera, crooked, as “ deri lakṛi ” (a crooked stick).

Dháman = Bíúl (*Gervia oppositifolia*, Stewart, 27).

Dhak-dhak, little by little.

Dharíná, to drag.

Dherá, sun.

Dherá, day (=dhiará).

Dhíngará, Hind. arhar, a kind of pulse, *Cajanus Indicus*.
(Rámgarh)

Dhiotra, a daughter's son.

Dhirna, to drag. (Chaumukha).

Dhíú, a tree with large leaves ; bears a fruit. *Artocarpus inte-*
grifolia. (Lodhwan).

Dhiu, daughter.

Dhor, bullock.

Dhura, *vide* Dagula.

G. Díná, to cross (a pass, river, etc).

Dolua, to tremble.

Dond, a wood-pigeon.

Dote, to-morrow.

Dudhár, a hut in the cultivated land for the purpose of being near the fields.

Etki, this time, now.

Gá, cow.

Gabe, between.

Gađi, a sheaf of rice. (Saloh).

G. Gahná, to go.

Galáná, to speak.

Gáo-dhan málá, a rope of *bagar* grass and mango leaves suspended across the path to a cowshed to avert cattle-disease. (Baragráon).

Gappí, chatterer, flatterer, as in " Katocháři di parol, Ghálakári jo ata, Gappiári jo Chole (*i. e.* cháwal), (at the doorway of a Katoch helpers get flour, flatterers get rice).—*Proverb*.

Gar, fort.

Garáká, a clap of thunder.

Garju, thunder.

Garna, *Carissa diffusa*, Stewart, 42, very like karaunda, which is *Carissa carandas*.

G. Gaúlá, langur.

Ghálak, helper.

Ghálná, to help.

Ghálki, help.

G. Gharangar, saddle of a sheep. (Dharmśála).

Ghirini, the bird which makes bottle-shaped nests. (Saloh).

Gharu, a precipice.

Ghuárá, a stack of rice-straw. Kángra.

Gid, the name of a fish, (Bhádpur), Biás.

Gidli, name of a fish. (Dera and Sujánpur).

God, an eel-like fish, *Mestacembelus armatus*. (Dera and Sujánpur).

Gobrá, son.

Gorá, white, fair (of people).

Gorú, a herd of cattle, as in "tere gorn kate tahar hin ?" (how many head are there in your herd ?)

Gotar, tribe (restricted to the descendants of one ancestor).

Grá, town.

Gulu, a cob of maize from which the grain has been picked.

Gulú, a cob of maize with the grains on. (Lodhwan),

Gurlu, the sweet viscous matter deposited by insects on the leaves and flowers of the mango in spring. (Rajhún).

G. Hachhá, white (of things and animals).

Hákhar, eye.

Hákhí, a glance.

"Duhí janie di hákhí lagí," (the glance of two lovers met) (Garli song).

Hand, ploughing the standing crop of rice "Hand Hár mahine hunghé" (the rice will be ploughed in Hár), cf. ur.

Hath, hand.

Hath-lopa, groping—karná, to grope. (Kángra).

Hatiará, a wretch, a murderer.

Heṛa, *shikar*.

Hí, yesterday, as in "Hí aun kachari jo na go," (yesterday I to kutcherry did not go).

Hiúp, snow.

Hiúnd, Hiúnda, winter, as "akhoke hiúndá manj tusso apní bahrá bakrí kaṭhī charnī hiu ?" (where will you graze your sheep and goats this winter ?) (Dharmśála).

Hiúpwát, snow-blindness.

Iji, mother.

It, a brick.

G. Jabará, an old man.

Jalára and pallá, names of blights.

Jálú, when.

Janglá, yoke. (Bhawarna).

Jání-mání, *Nolens volens*.

Japhloṭa, croton tree, *Jatropha curcas* (Stewart's Punjab Plants, page 196). (Kángra).

Jar, fever, as in "jar khít ichhurá ha" (fever and ague have come).

G. Jeli, hard.

Jhauntú, axe.

Jhotá, a male buffalo.

Jhumb=a stack of Indian corn. (Lambagrón). cf. *chhumb*.

Jilha, dumb. (Kángra).

Junás, a wife. (Hamírpur).

Ká, crow, pl. ká (apparently, "mate ká hin") (there are many crows).

Kahlá, quarrel.

Kajo, why? (Garli).

Kak, uncle, -i, aunt (*i.e.*, father's younger brother or his wife = patriá).

Kakiáru, mahser (=chatráti.) (Dera and Sujánpur).

Kakri, cucumber.

Kalbelán, the time between sunset and dark, evening.

Kámal, *Rottlera tinctoria*, Stewart, 197. The red powder which forms on the capsules is called *kamilá* and is used for dye, worms and itch.

Kan, ear.

G. Kandá, a flock, (Dharmśála) as in "tussere kande manj ketari bahrá bakri hin?" (how many sheep and goats are there in your flock)?

Kandá, a thorn.

Kandí, water beetle.

Kandúhá, a hedgehog. (Baragrón).

Kaniár, (Kotla-Núrpur)=Amaltás, Stewart, 62.

Kanonian, parched Indian corn.

Kaphí, tinder (=bujazú).

Karál=Kachuar. (Kángra).

Karará, hard.

Karkará, iris, with broad leaves and purple bluish flowers (Triund, Dharmśála).

Kas, a stack of rice, square or oblong (Saloh); cf. kunu. (Saloh).

Kasákra, a crab. (Deblu in Mandi).

Kasar, swarm.

Kasarál, soft, used of the soft sandstone which is rapidly worn into tracks by the feet of men or cattle (Baragráon); cf. kasari, and bajrothi.

Kasari, sick. (Baragráon).

Kasmal, *Berberis aristata*. Rasot is made of the root of the kasmal.

Kaur, a weed with a yellow flower (Lodhwan), observed in fields, generally in February and March.

Kawar-gandal, a plant of the aloe kind, ? *Aloe perfoliata*, Stewart, 232.

Kendu, *Deospyros montana*, right bank of Biás.

G. Khádna, call.

Khádú, a ram.

Khakhíar, the name of a fish, in Urdu Mahaser. (Bhadpu en Biás).

Khaktú, a chip, splinter.

Khaláh, locust.

Khal-dará, resin of the *chít* (*Pinus longifolia*), Darini.

Khalri, skin (of a sheep or goat).

G. Khandá, a flock.

Khara, good.

G. Kharál, hair.

Kharat, loss.

Khárí, basket.

Khareṛu, foot and mouth disease; (also called *bara-roḡ*).

Khatta, sour.

Kbauhrá, father-in-law.

G. Kheflá, a porcupine (=sehlí).

Khilí, land fallen out of cultivation.

Khil-sál, rent for uncultivated land.

Khilá, cold.

Khikharna, to teach.

G. Khokha, the receptacle above the *ḡora*.

Khuchná, to have sexual intercourse with.

Khuchiná, pass, verb, from foregoing.

Khuká, dry.

Khukh, puff-ball, Stewart, 268.

Khunni, name of a fish. (Biás).

Ki and jo, dative affixes, as in "Debi Chand here kí chalia," (Devi Chand went to shoot).

Kichh, something=kuchh.

Kirá, snake.

Kiu, common bean. (Lodhwan).

Kochbi, or kochpi (Dadh), a large landing net. (Kángra).

G. Koḍ, a fair.

Kokrá, blue rock pigeon (Mundhi) ; (*vide* parara).

Koṭhlá, a clod-crusher. (Kángra).

Kuále, kuál, slope. (Bangar).

Kukrele-da-thá, a stack of maize stalks. (Saloh).

Kukriálá, maize-stalks without the cobs. (Lanj).

Kuli, girl.

Kunu, a stack of rice, round with a peaked top, cf. kas (Saloh).

Kundh, a large stack of wheat.

Kundla, a stack of grass.

Kupáh, cotton.

Kurká, name of a fish. (Dera and Sujánpur).

Kutār, dog.

Kuṭ-phát, land cultivated after an interval of 2 or 3 years (Lanj).

Láhá, s. m., a landslip.

Láhar, land in which rice is not grown.

Lahr, a ram used for breeding.

Laira, Sawan.

Lak, waist, "Mera lak ḍole" (my waist swings,")

Láná, fine or smooth, as "píthá láná há" (the flour is fine).

Ie, thistle. (Lodhwan).

Líndak, tail of cattle only. (Baragráon).

G. Linguní, a sheep's tail (cf. lingtí, in Kuluhi).

G. Lodhá, blood, of an animal.

Lo, light, as in "lo kar," (make a light).

Loda, inoculation.

Lunj, wages for picking cotton. (Tira in Kutlehar).

Lurná, fall.

Mahe, buffalo.

Mach, a kind of toothless rake, made with a curved blade and a handle, for levelling muddy land.

Makhar, a swarm of bees.

Makhir, honey.

Maná, flying fox. (Sujánpur Tira), = *mauchañ*. (Kotla).

Máran, *Ulmus campestris*. Stewart, 210. (Nagar in Kulu).

Masarín, potentilla. (Triund, Dharmśála).

Matá, too much, excess.

Megh, rain.

G. Molná, to meet, to be joined, to be procured, as in "minjo Núrpur manj ik dhár mola há," (I have got a range in Núrpur).

Mugi, a square receptacle made of mud and straw.

Múh, mouth.

Mund, head.

Múnakh, husband.

Ná, name.

Nacharohí, the fourth day.

Nagar, town.

Nakaraj, the day before the day before yesterday.

Nál, river.

Naund, a masonry tank as in "Thural ka naund."

Napílná, to wring, (clothes, &c.).

Nar, stone.

Nilri, blue jay. (Malán).

Nimán, slow.

Oban, an umbrella of leaves on a bamboo frame (= *pohrú* at Darini). (Hamírpur).

Osna, descend.

Otar, *bárání* land, cf. amri.

Páhú, tenant.

Pakhrúa, a bird.

Palla, see *jalara*.

Pánsará, *Wendlandia exserta*, Stewart, 17.

Pararu, a small stack of wheat.

Paraj, the day before yesterday.

Parañ, foot.

Paraṛa, blue rock pigeon (Mundhi), *vide* Kokrá.

Pariála, *Erythrina arborescens*. A tree with large leaves, thorns, and knotted (?) bark. At Pundar in Núrpur I saw some wandering tribe making broad bands of this wood, which they made up in rolls and used for making the hoops of sieves.

Parohí, the day after to-morrow.

Parol, s. f., the gateway of a house.

Paroṛa or Poroṛa. Tree with long pointed glabrous leaves.

Patar, leaf.

Páthá, name of a fish. (Kángra).

Patriá, father's younger brother, and Patrer, -i, *his* children.

Patru, a water-plant with leaves like sorrel. (Lodhwan).

Per-bhári, *lit.* heavy-footed, "pregnant."

Peru, a large basket consisting of a cylinder with narrowing mouth and a hole near the bottom for taking out the grain stored in it.

Phátú, a shingle for roofing (Darini).

Phúka, life, soul, as in "Parmesar ki kripa mere ghar vich chár *phúke* hain" (by the favour of God there are four persons in my house).

Piche, behind.

Pipal, red pepper. (Hamírpur).

Piṛna, to get ready, as in "piṛo merí pálké," (get ready my palanquin). (Song).

Piúlá, yellow.

Prabhú, red bear (Kothi Kohar Sowar).

Pragra, light, as in "pragra pá," (make a light).

Prasan, thread as it is spun, *i.e.*, as from wool it becomes thread and is wound upon the spindle.

Pugna, to arrive.

Puti, prep. and adv., up, above, upon, as in "puti mat *gáche*," (do not go up).

Rana, queen bee.

Ridhi, spur of a mountain. (Rihlu).

Rukh, tree.

Rurhu, s. m. fixed rent = *P. Chakota*.

Sahensar paen, *Asparagus racemosus*, Stewart, 233. (?=thousand root).

Sakhná, unladen, empty.

Sakoi, drought, "Is baras sakoi bari hai, hun assán thelu pa depe," cf. thelu.

Samalu, see Banná.

Sandh, a bull.

'Ghirthni rand ni, Jhotá sándh ni.' A Ghirthni cannot become a widow any more than a male buffalo can become a bull.—*Prov erb.*

Sandh, a standing place in shade for cattle.

Sangrá, narrow.

Sapar, a cliff, or rock.

Sat, cold, cool.

Satha, always.

G. Sathri, a bundle of rice, cut but not yet tied. (Saloh).

Sauká, the state of having a rival wife. "Sauke par jáná main ne manzúr nahín kiá," (I did not consent to go on the condition of being a rival wife), Hansu vs. Mt. Koko.

Se, the functions of a barber, a shave. (Kángra).

Sehli, a porcupine. Punjabi, *seh*; in Gádi, Kheílá. Sansk. ?

Sel, bark-fibre. (Baragráon).

Sik, lead.

Sinna, wet.

Sirigná, ground-bee.

Sít, (Gádi, khit) ague.

Sitak, bark of a tree. (Baragráon).

So, placenta.

Soa, slight rain. (Rajhún).

Sotna, to glean, sweep, or collect by sweeping. (Lanj).

Sukáman, a parasitical plant. I have only seen it growing on mango trees. Fleshy leaves. I cannot trace it in Stewart. (Núrpur).

Sunán, needle.

Sup, a winnowing basket of bamboo. *Ohhaj* is a winnowing basket made of the *tili* of *kána* grass. Sup in Urdu, see Fallon, *sub. voce*.

Sutrájan, marigold. (Hamírpur).

Tahar, a head (of cattle). (Dharmśála).

Tálu, then.

Tan, a *machán*.

Tap, see under *thelu*.

Tarpandí, crooked (morally).

Tasiá, trouble, annoyance, (in Gádi, tasiá), as in "mainá tusso saite takrár kari-leo, tussa roz roz minjo kajo tasiá dinde há?" (I made a promise with you, why do you daily give me trouble?) (Dharmśála Gádi).

Taü, father's elder brother, fem. tei, and tair, -i, are his children.

G. Taulá quick (also Jándri).

Taundi, s. f., hot season. (Garli).

Thainá, a deposit, "yih meri thainá hai," (this is to be kept for me).

Thák, s. f., an obstacle.

Thale, prep., below.

Thali, nether millstone. (Bhawarna).

Thelu, a flat piece of wood placed in a water-course to make the flow of water even in order to divide it equally amongst the smaller channels by means of pieces of wood (*tap*) fixed in the *thelu*.

Thil, snail.

Thula, thick.

G. Thúngár, parched grain.

Trámbá, copper.

Trikh, thirst.

Tuka, a cob of maize without the grain. (Lodhwan).

G. Tundí, sheep's trotter, cf. *thudú* in Kuluhi.

Undrar, a hamlet.

Unsán, a spindle held in the hand. (Dharmśála Gádi.)

Úr, planting rice by hand, "assan nađen úr bhi-lei-chhadia," (we have planted the rice by hand in the marshes), cf. *hand*.

Usáhal, fr. osná, a descent.

Usina, ascend, as in "muhún thoñ nañ usindhá, maṭha maṭha ilán" (by me it cannot be ascended, I will come slowly). (Dharmśála Gádi); cf. osná.

A Contribution to the History of Western Bundelkhand.—By C. A.
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The following is a translation of the first third of a History and Geography of Bundelkhand by Diwān Bijhe Bahādur Mazbūt Singh, Bundela Thakur of Nanora in the Bānsi pargana of the Lalitpur sub-division of the Jhansi district. The author is a leading durbari of the sub-division and one of the chief Bundelas of the Jhansi district, and a remarkably intelligent gentleman. He is the present head of the family of the Jakhlon Thakurs whose fortunes he traces. The tract with which this portion of the history is concerned is the Lalitpur sub-division, the Orchha state and the Chanderi pargana of Gwalior, together with some of the neighbouring territories. It gives a fairly clear and concise account of the rise of the Bundelas and their doings in this tract. The history goes on to give an account of Panna and the rest of Eastern Bundelkhand but this portion is little more than an abstract of the Chatharprakash, a translation of the whole of which forms the bulk of Pogson's 'Bundelas.' The second part of the book is entitled 'Geography' and gives brief descriptions of the states and districts of Bundelkhand, containing little or nothing new; and also lists of the animal, vegetable and mineral products of Bundelkhand, which are interesting as giving the local names of many things that are quite unknown to Watts' 'Dictionary of Economic Products,' and which I hope to be able to identify.

The portion, the translation of which forms this paper gives an account of some events of, it is true, mainly local interest, but which I do not remember having seen elsewhere related. The notes added will, I think, enable most of the localities to be identified. All dates are according to the Christian era unless otherwise specified.

The first translation was done by Khwāja Muhammad Zafar, Sub-Deputy Inspector of Schools at Lalitpur, and my acknowledgments are due to him for the performance of a tedious task. This translation was revised by myself, and I have discussed doubtful points with the author.

J. I. 14

A Portion of the History of Bundelkhand.—By DIWĀN BIJHE BAHĀDUR
MAZBŪT SINGH.

Several works on the history of Bundelkhand are already in existence. But not one of them can claim to be so comprehensive as to contain a sketch treating of the geography of the whole of Bundelkhand as well as showing the revenue and population of all parts of the province.

Nor do any of the existing works contain genealogical tables showing the names of all the Bundela Rajas and Chiefs and tracing their lines of descent and exhibiting the causes which led to the separation of the various families from the original stock.

Nor again is there any information forthcoming as to the extent of the entire province; and as to what portions of it are occupied by the Bundelas and by the Chiefs of other tribes, respectively, and what portions are under the direct control of the British Government.

Lastly, other historians have on many doubtful points, contented themselves with the suggestions of their own ingenuity.

It was with a view to supply these wants that at the instance of Major John Liston, Deputy Commissioner of Lalitpur, I Diwān Bijhe Bahādur Mazbūt Singh, Bundela Thākur and Jāgirdār, undertook to prepare this history of Bundelkhand with the assistance of Mr. Quinton, Commissioner of Jhansi, and the Political Agent, Bundelkhand States. It is intended that the book shall summarize all the narratives of events chronicled by writers of various generations best acquainted with the Bundela families. Abstracts and extracts from the following works will also find place in the work:—"History of India" (Hindi); "Vishan Purana" (Hindi); "Kawi Paria" (Hindi); Varsingh Charitra (Hindi); Chhatra Prakāsh (Hindi); "Bundel Charitra" (Hindi); "Geography of the Central Provinces"; Krishn Narain's "History" (Urdu); "Wakiāt-i-Bundelkhand" (Urdu); "Imperial Gazetteer of Bundelkhand."

Besides this I am a native of this part of the Provinces and am myself closely connected with the Bundela dynasties, and have received my legends from my ancestors, and have seen many old writings and inscriptions on buildings, etc.; my account may therefore be relied on.

In India as the majority of men know Hindi I have compiled this work in that language that it may be the more easily read. It is divided into two parts (1) History, and (2) Geography.

Bundelkhand is the portion of India bounded on the north by the Jamna, the south by the Narbada, the east by the Tons and the west by the Kālī Sindh. During the period when Raja Udhisthira was reigning in India, Sisupāl was the Raja of Bundelkhand and the country was then called Chau-Desh. For several generations Sisupāl and his

sons ruled over it; but later it fell into the hands of Raja Karam of Oudh. This Raja erected a building at Kalinjar and removed the city of Chanderi¹ from its site in the time of Sisupāl to the foot of Geru hill and dug a tank called Parmeshwar. He built a fort at Geru hill and made it a military station. At a distance of about seven miles from modern Chanderi ruins of temples, etc., still indicate the site of the Chanderi of the time of Sisupāl these are known as Burhi (old) Chanderi.¹ In a history edited by Munshi Krishn Narain it is mentioned that the kingdom of Raja Karam extended from Oudh to Mau Mand-sowar² and for several generations the Rajas of this dynasty ruled over it. Somi, the last Raja of this line, left his kingdom and fled to Kachh and Bhuj. Jamna Deva—succeeded him and became king of Chen-desh. There is a legend that the marks of the hoofs of his horse are to be seen on stones in Chāndpūr,³ Chandrapur⁴ and Sironj⁵; the only foundation of truth probably being that he was Raja of this part of the country and made Chanderi his capital. He claimed supremacy over all the countries from the Jamna to the Narbada, and from the Chambal to the Tons. About this time Bhārat Raja of Ujjain conquered Central India, but soon after becoming an ascetic was succeeded by his brother Bikram, who from that date assumed as one of his titles, Raja of Chen-desh. He was a powerful and wise monarch and is said to have ruled over the whole of India. Chen-desh was the centre of his domain, and his kingdom was known as Madh-desh or the Central region.

It is clear from the Vishnu-purana that Nāg-banshi Kshattris were ruling over the land from the Jamna to the Narbada and from the Chambal to the Ken. But it is impossible to determine the exact dates of their reigns. The "Imperial Gazetteer" gives the following dates:—

0 Raja Bhim-nagar.	100 Brahapat.
25 Kharjor.	125 Nagendra.
50 Dharamwats.	150 Biaghranaga.
75 Asank danamar.	175 Basunag. ⁶

¹ In Gwalior 18 miles west of Lalitpur. Old Chanderi is eight miles N.-W. of modern Chanderi and its numerous ruins are almost buried in jungle.

² Near Ujjain.

³ An almost deserted village in pargana Balabehat (district Jhansi) 16 miles S.S.-W. of Lalitpur). There are numerous ruins of Chandel buildings (temples, horses, etc.) for an account of which see Babu Chandar Mukarji's "Report on the Antiquities of Lalitpur."

⁴ In pargana Dōgaha (district Sagar), 20 miles N.-E. of Sagar.

⁵ A considerable town in Tonk, about 32 miles S. of W. of Bina Railway Station on the I.M. Railway.

⁶ The names in this list are spelt slightly differently. (See "Gazetteer" N.-W.P., Vol. I, p. 3).

In 215 Devanāg, the last King of this dynasty, ascended the throne. In his reign Toraman, the general of Raja Gopāl, who was a Kachhwāha by race invaded Eran¹ in 243 and conquered all countries from Bhopal to Eran. Toraman's son subdued Gwalior at the same time. In 358 Devanag abdicated and went to Narwar² and was succeeded by Sursen, who was a descendant of Toraman. He (Sursen) built the famous fort of Gwalior in 285.

An ascetic told him that his descendants would govern the kingdom for 400 generations. Gwalior has been a capital since that time. The descendants of Sursen ruled over Central India for a long time. In 593 the Raja of Kanouj invaded the kingdom and conquered the whole except the cities of Gwalior, Chanderi and Narwar. But the Kachhwāhas soon recovered their authority. But in the meantime Thakur Chandh succeeded in seizing several villages near Mahoba.³ The descendants of this Thakur were called the Chandels.

The 84th and last Raja of the Kachhwāha dynasty was Tej-karan whom Dhandeva the historian calls Krishn Narain. About 933 the Parihar dynasty rose into importance and invaded and conquered Gwalior. Krishn Narain or Tej-karan left the capital and went to Dhūndhār,⁴ but his descendants removed their residence to Narwar and Indurki.⁵

The first King of the Parihar dynasty was Vajradama, who subdued Central India. Meanwhile the Chandels of Mahoba were gaining power. Vajradama was followed successively by Raja Kirat, Raja Bhūvanpāl I and Raja Padhpāl. In 1093 Bhūvanpāl II succeeded Mahipāl who, in 1161 was succeeded by Raja Madhusudan, but even before his accession the Chandels had got possession of the whole kingdom except Gwalior, which after his death fell into the hands of Tomar Thakurs in 1232. The events connected with Chandib and his descendants will now be chronicled. It has already been mentioned that during the reign of the Kachhwāha Thakurs Chandib got possession of Mahoba and Kanouj, and while Kings of the Parihar dynasty were reigning his descendants over-ran the whole kingdom.

After the death of Chandib his son Wakipat⁶ assumed the title of

¹ In Sagar district (pargana Khemlasa), on the Bina river, 6 miles S. of Bina Railway Station (I.M. Railway). (For an account of the ruins here see Cunningham's *Archæological Reports*).

² In Gwalior on the Sindh river 40 miles S.-W. of Gwalior.

³ One of the chief seats of Chandel rule in Hamirpur district.

⁴ Near Jaipur.

⁵ 32 miles W. N.-W. of Jalaun in Gwalior State.

⁶ Probably identical with Vakpati.

Raja and annexed Ajegarh. His son Bijai conquered Chatharpur,¹ Mau,² Chanderi, etc., and was succeeded in order by Jaso-Dharm Deva, Bijai-pāl, and Kirat-Varam. The last King Kirat-Varam, wrested Panna and Shahgarh³ from the Gonds. After Kirat-Varam, Jaya-Varma, Solakshan and Prithur-Varma ascended the throne in succession. In 1118 Govind-Chand succeeded Prithwi-Varma and subdued the whole of Central India subverting the Parihar dynasty which at that time retained possession of Gwalior and a few other villages only.

Nar-Varam succeeded in 1163 and was followed in 1167 by Parmol. In 1209 Narhar succeeded, in whose reign the Gonds, Lodhis, Ahirs and others rose and divided the kingdom, and the dynasty was consequently enfeebled. The last King was Bhoj-Varam, grandson of Parmol, whose reign was a continual struggle with rebels, by whom he was sometimes defeated and whom he at others subdued. During his nominal reign Bir Bundela rose into power and got possession of Mau,⁴ Mahoni,⁵ Kalpi and Kalinjar. He repeatedly defeated Bhoj-Varma and finally overthrew the Chandel dynasty.

Several buildings of the time of the Chandels are still found in Kalinjar, Mahoba, Deogarh⁶ and Madanpūr⁷ bearing inscriptions in Hindi.

After the overthrow of the Chandel dynasty that of the Bundelas was established. It is said that long before this Gharwar Kshattris, who were Suraj-bansis by descent ruled in Kāshi (Benares). The last King of Gharwār was Chait-karan whom Krishn-narain calls Birbhadra. In the Bundel-Charita it is stated that the total revenue of his kingdom was one crore of rupees.

Birbhadra had five sons:—(1) Ishri, also called Rāj Singh, (2) Hansrāj, (3) Mohan, (4) Mān, and (5) Jagdās or Pancham. The last was his father's favourite. In his lifetime the Raja divided his kingdom among his five sons giving half to the four elder, and half to

¹ Probably the capital of the State in the Bundelkhand Agency of that name.

² Probably the town 10 miles N.-W. of Chatharpur.

³ A town in the Sagar district (pargana Shahgarh) 40 miles N.-E. of Sagar.

⁴ Said by the author to be probably Mau-Ranipur in the pargana of that name (district Jhansi), 40 miles E. of Jhansi, but I am rather inclined to believe it is the Mau mentioned in note 14.

⁵ As to this place I am not sure, there is a Mahoni in Gwalior adjoining a Mau in Jalaun district on the Pahnj 23 miles S.-W. of Jalaun Town.

⁶ In pargana Balabehat (district Jhansi) 19 miles S.-W. of Lalitpur, on the Betwa, for an account of the ruins, see Cunningham's Archaeological Reports and Babu Chandar Mukarji's Report on the Antiquities of Lalitpur.

⁷ In pargana Maraura (district Jhansi) 36 miles S.-E. of Lalitpur—for an account of its Antiquities, see the works quoted in note.

Pancham, a division which not unnaturally caused ill-feeling between Pancham and his elder brothers, with the result that on the death of the Raja in 1170 Pancham was expelled and his dominion equally divided among the four brothers.

On the loss of his kingdom and wealth, he was in great distress, and he went to Bindhachal,¹ where on the first of Sāwan Sambat 1228 (1171 A.D.) in order to gain a victory over his brothers and recover his kingdom he practised the most severe asceticism in honour of the goddess Bindhāsni or Durga. For several days he took neither food nor water and continually chanted prayers; but without avail, on the eighth day, however, he sat within a circle of fire and on the ninth day standing on one leg prayed to the goddess, but still without avail. On the last day he resolved to offer his head to the goddess as a sacrifice, but before this consummation was reached the goddess cried: "Thou wilt enjoy the happiness of a King." Pancham asked her to appear before him and to give him some sign that he would defeat his brothers and regain his kingdom. The goddess gave no answer. Pancham resumed his religious chants, took his sword and tried to cut his throat, but the goddess thereupon appeared and cried: "Victory, Victory, Thou wilt be victorious and become Raja of a kingdom, and thy descendants will rule over Central India." When Pancham was about to behead himself and the goddess saw that a drop of blood fell from the cut to the ground, she cried: "Budit or Bundela (a drop)" and blessed him saying that his descendants would be called Bundelas hereafter, and then disappeared, Pancham collected a force, defeated his brothers, seized the kingdom and made Benares his Eastern Capital. The descendants of Pancham's four brothers are still called Gahrwār Thakurs.

Pancham was blessed with a son and according to the direction of the goddess, named him Bir-Bundela. It is said that during the reign of Bir Bundela, Shahāb-ud-din Ghori invaded India and decisively defeated Jai Chand Raja of Kanouj about 1195. Munshi Krishn Narain mentions in his book that in compliance with the orders of his father Bir Bundela fought a battle with Tatār Khan Afghan, in which 72 officers of the Khan's force were wounded; Bir Bundela himself shot 300 men with his own bow. This defeat actually stopped the Khan's further advance. It may therefore be inferred that it was in the time of Pancham that Shahāb-ud-din Ghori conquered India.

In 1214 Bir Bundela ascended the throne on the death of his father, who had reigned 49 years. He was able to extend his sway over several neighbouring kingdoms to the West, North and South. In 1231 he

¹ The famous shrine five miles West of Mirzapur.

subdued Kālpi and Mahoni and after defeating Bhoj Varam Chandel annexed Kalinjar. Bir Bundela gained a complete victory over the Gharwārs of Marra¹ and extended his conquests to Rewa, Oudh and the Doab. These conquests are related in detail in the Bundela Charitr.

He was succeeded by Karan-Tirth, who married the daughter of Nimrāna Chauhan. Karan-Tirth obtained his name in consequence of having built a tirth or temple, which is still esteemed one of the famous temples of Benares. He offered Kashi or Benares to the Brahmans. His son Arjun Pāl came to Mahoni in 1313; and Toar of Gwalior gave him his daughter in marriage. From the Kabpriya and Kharsingh-Charitr it appears that he was the first Raja who made Mahoni his capital and ruled over Kalpi, Mau, Mahoni, and Kalinjar. He had three sons:—(1) Birbal, (2) Sohanpāl, and (3) Dayapāl. The Imperial Gazetteer² states that in 1263 Raja Arjunpāl sent his son Sohanpāl to Kateragarh³ and that the fort was surrendered to him; on his death he was succeeded by his eldest son Birbal. He gave a few villages to Sohanpāl who had married the daughter of a Dhandera of Ganeshkhhera.⁴ Sohanpāl not being satisfied with his share of the inheritance went to Nāga the Kanghar Raja of Kurār,⁵ with 45 sepoy and 13 sōwars. In the Bundel-Charitr it is related that he asked Nāga to help him in taking his share from his brother; this Nāga promised to do on condition that he would eat, drink, and inter-marry with him; Sohanpāl was very much enraged at this suggestion and was about to leave Kurār, but hearing of his intention Nāga formed a plot to forcibly detain him, and compel him to accede to these proposals. Sohanpāl hearing thereof fled from the court, and went to Mukatman Chauhan, who was a descendant of Dhandera Deva and commanded 4,000 men on behalf of Nāga. Him he requested to assist him against his brother, but Mukatman refused saying that he would remain neutral.

After this Sohanpāl, leaving his small force behind, went alone successively to the Salingars, Chauhāns and Kachhwāhas, and told his story to them. But none of them offered to assist him. However a Panwār Thakur, named Panpal, Jāgirdar of Karhara,⁶ offered assistance and the two conspired to remove Raja Nāga by stratagem from his

¹ This the author says is in the Mirzapur district near its Western border.

² Gazetteer of N.-W.P. I, 20.

³ Better known as Katera, the seat of a jagirdar and titular Raja in pargana Mau (Jhansi district) 26 miles S.-E. of Jhansi.

⁴ In Gwalior 16 miles W. of Jhansi.

⁵ In Orchha 20 miles E. N.-E. of Jhansi.

⁶ In Gwalior 27 miles W. of Jhansi.

kingdom, which was worth 13 lakhs. It was agreed that Sohanpāl should go to Kurār and pretend to accept Raja Nāga's conditions of inter-marriage, etc., and invite the Raja and his relatives to his house. Sohanpāl went to Kurār and did as agreed on. After a time Raja Nāga, with his brothers and ministers, came to Sohanpāl's house, whereupon Panpal arrived with 300 Kshattris, and as soon as Raja Nāga and his followers had sat down to eat Panpal Panwār and Sohanpāl Bundela fell upon and slaughtered all the Kanghār chiefs, and immediately seized the fort of Kurār.

In this way on Wednesday the 2nd of Kartik Sambat 1345 (1288 A.D.) Sohanpāl became Raja of Kurār, and appointed Panpal and Mukatman as ministers. He said to them:—"As no Kshattri in the time of my distress gave me help except you no other save yourselves shall marry into my family."¹

Accordingly he gave his daughter in marriage to Panpal and as dowry a village named Itaura², to his younger brother Dayapāl as a jagir of one lakh. From this time the Kshattris were divided into three different classes of Bundelas, Panwārs and Dhanderas. The total revenue of the whole Bundela territory was 26 lakhs of which half was possessed by Bir-Bal and the rest by Sohanpāl.

Sohanpāl had two sons, Sahjendra and Rām, of whom the elder Sahjendra succeeded him in 1299. He also had two sons, Nānak Deva and Saanak Deva, of whom the former succeeded in 1326. His sons were Prithwi Rāj and Indra Rāj of whom Prithwi Rāj succeeded in 1360. Prithwi Rāj framed good laws for his subjects, subdued the Bundelas of Birbal's and Dayapāl's families and performed a "yag" named Maheshri³ in Kurār. He was blessed with two sons, Madnipāl⁴ and Kisāb. In 1400 Madnipāl succeeded and left three sons named Arjun Deva, Māl and Bhimsen. On his death in 1443 the eldest Arjun Deva succeeded. The "Kabpriya" speaks highly of him as having had read

¹ The account of the origin of the Bundelas and the overthrow of the Kanghar Raja of Kurār here given, is very different from, and much more creditable to the Bundelas than that given in the *Gazetteer of the N.-W.P.* (I, 20), whence it would appear that the overthrow of the Kanghars preceded the origin of the Bundelas. The account given in Crookes "Tribes and Castes" (II, 163) is intermediate between the two, but would seem to be certainly incorrect as regards the mention of a Raja of Panna, as Panna was first made the seat of a Raja by Chatharsal about 1675 A.D. At this time that part of the country was in the hands of the Gond.

² In pargana Jhansi, 13 miles E. N.-E. of Jhansi.

³ A sacrifice of goats to Mahadeo after certain preliminary offerings and ceremonies.

⁴ According to the *Gazetteer N.-W.P.* (I. 21). Rām Chand was the son of Prithwi Rāj and Madnipāl his son.

to him the four Vedas and the religious Puranas, and offered 16 Māhadān¹ to Brahmans. He had two sons named Malkhān and Satrsāl. In 1475 Malkhān succeeded his father and showed himself a powerful and wise prince. In 1482 he fought with Bahlol Lodi,² and dying in 1507 left eight sons, Partāp-Rudr, Sāh, Jait, Jogajit, Baryār Singh, Bhao Singh, Kharagsen, and Birchand, of whom the eldest Partāp-Rudr succeeded to the throne. He annexed part of the kingdom of Ibrahim Lodi³ yielding a revenue of 1½ crores, Ibrahim being engaged in a struggle with Bābar. On Bābar's becoming emperor and returning in 1514⁴ after conquering the kingdom of Medni Rai Raja of Chanderi he only succeeded in recovering Kalpi from Partāp-Rudr, and appointed him to rule the rest of his kingdom. On the 13th Baisakh 1587 Sambat (1531 A.D.) he founded the city of Orchha, and made it a military station. He was a famous hunter, and it is related that after reigning 24 years he met his death in this way; one day while hunting the jungles near Orchha he heard a cow cry out in pain, and going to see what had happened found that it had been seized by a lion. He fired but missed, and finding it impossible to reload, attacked the animal with a sword and succeeded in killing it, but not before it had so mauled him that he only survived long enough to reach his palace (1531).

He left nine sons by his three wives, of whom the eldest Bhārti-Chand succeeded him. The second brother Madhkur Sāh, lived with him and assisted in the administration. The third brother Udajit got Mahoba. The fourth Amān Dās received Patori,⁵ the fifth Prāgdās obtained Haraspur,⁶ the sixth Durgādās, Durgapur,⁷ the seventh Chandandās, Katera,⁸ the eighth Ghansāmdās, Maigawan,⁹ and Bhārat-Rai, Kurār.

Raja Bhartichand built the beautiful temple of Chaturbhuj-Bhagwān in Orchha.

¹ The author tells me this is any great gift. A Māhadān of gold is not less than 32 māshas, (i.e. 214 grs. or about £2-0-0); an elephant, a maiden, a complete house, all one's possessions, are other examples.—(This would seem to imply a very much higher value of gold than at present).

² Reigned 1451-1488.

³ 1517-1526.

⁴ 1514 Keane (History of India I. 102) gives 1527 A.D. for this event.

⁵ The author cannot tell me where this is and thinks it probably an error.

⁶ In Pargana Bansi (Jhansi district) 16 miles N. of Lalitpur. There are here two large Chandel tanks, (one ruined).

⁷ In Datia, 6 miles S. of Datia.

⁸ See note 23.

⁹ In Orchha 11 miles S.-E. of Mau-Rānipur.

In 1544 Sher Shāh,¹ having temporarily defeated Humayun and thus become Emperor of Delhi, attempted the conquest of Bundelkhand. In accordance with the order of the Raja, Madhkur Sāh with 5000 selected cavalry attacked the enemy's forces, and though he suffered heavily succeeded in getting possession of the enemy's standard, and so steadily harassed his army that he was forced to retire.

The Emperor Sher Shāh beseiged Kalinjar and annexed the neighbouring country. During the siege the Imperial Magazine caught fire and exploded, killing the Emperor. In 1545 his son Selim Shāh ascended the throne and in his reign Bhartichand took Kalinjar. This success of the Bundela Chief Selim Shāh was compelled to overlook as he was at that time engaged in a contest with Humayun and also with his own brothers. He had indeed once sent a small detachment from Gwalior, which was compelled to retire without even crossing the Sindh. Bhartichand extended his kingdom till it stretched from the Tons to the Sindh and from the Jamna to the Narbada, and yielded a revenue of two crores. From about this time this part of India was known as Bundelkhand—the country of the Bundelas.

In 1551 Bhartichand performed Bājpai-yug² at Tongāran.³ As he had no son he was succeeded on his death in 1552 by his next brother Madhkur Sāh, who proved a wise and pious prince, learned in the Shastras and laws. He was specially a follower of the two-handed Narsingh-Bhagwān whom he worshipped morning and evening. He was also a man of great valour and simplicity, often riding out unattended. His love of justice was such that however important the question at issue might be he would not utter judgment without first consulting the code of Manu. The Delhi Emperor attacked him on several occasions but without success; these attacks were during Akbar's minority conducted with insufficient forces; when he however succeeded to full power he sent a large and well-equipped army under Niamat Khān. The Raja advanced as far as Baroni⁴ and there met the Imperial army, a severe engagement followed resulting in the retirement of Niamat Khān. Akbar then sent Ali Kūli Khān with a second force. To meet this Madhkur Sāh despatched his eldest son

¹ Assumed the Empire of Delhi 1542, and was killed at the siege of Kalinjar 1545.

² This the author tells me may be offered to any deity; it lasts for 21 days during each of which various ceremonies and offerings are performed culminating in a sacrifice of 21 goats on the 21st day and the gift of various things including seven elephants.

³ Close to Orchha.

⁴ In Datia, 5 miles W. of Datia town.

Rām Sāh with an army of 36,000. The armies met at Bhanrer,¹ and Ali Kūli Khan was repulsed and so much harassed that he retired leaving horses and equipage which fell to the Bundelas. His father was so pleased at the generalship displayed by Rām Sāh in this campaign that he increased his powers. Akbar made a third attempt to subdue the Bundelas, sending Jam Kūli Khān who however was likewise defeated at Chelra.² After this battle the Raja appointed his second son Horal-Rao Commander-in-Chief, and his third son Dulhar-Rao governor of the fort and treasury of Orchha. His fourth and fifth sons Ratansen and Indarjit respectively he made ministers of Rām Sāh. His four remaining sons Saikh Partāb Rao, Har Singh Deva, Birsingh Deva and Satrijit being still quite young continued their education. In 1568 another unsuccessful invasion of Bundelkhand was made by Sheikh Kūli Khan, a general of Akbar. But in 1574 the Emperor sent Seiyid Muhammad Bāra at the head of a larger and better equipped force to conquer Bundelkhand. This the Raja's eldest son advanced to meet and a battle was fought on the Siudh, in which Rāmsāh was defeated and compelled to retire to Orchha followed by the Imperial army. The Raja himself then marched out of Orchha and another battle was fought, wherein in spite of the valour displayed by the Raja, and his sons and brothers, the Bundelas suffered defeat. The Raja's brother Amān Dās was killed, and Orchha surrendered. This disaster was followed by the loss of all his territory from Gwalior to Sironj. But nevertheless he succeeded in recovering his power to some extent, and in driving the Muhammadans from Orchha and Karhara³ and making himself master of Bundelkhand proper. Akbar was not content with his partial success, and in 1633 sent a large army under Sadik Khān by way of Narwar. Madh Kur Sāh collected 50,000 men and marched towards Karhara when he engaged the invaders. In the battle the Bundelas were defeated with the loss of 7,000 of their number, and Horal Rao son of the Raja was among the slain, and his brothers Prāgdās and Durgadās were wounded. As a result Orchha was recovered by the Emperor. Previous to this invasion the Kachhwāha Governors of Rampura⁴ and Lahir⁵ had made an alliance with Sadik Khān; but in spite of this the Raja laid siege to Orchha in 1636 in the course of which siege his son Satrijit was killed. Raja Biharimal's brother Raja Rāj Singh Kachhwāha was at this time in

¹ In Gwalior, 19 miles E. N.-E. of Datia town.

² Said to be in Datia State.

³ See note 26.

⁴ In Pargana Mādhogarh (Jalaun district) 18 miles N.-W. of Jalaun.

⁵ In Pargana Indurkhi (Gwalior) 25 miles W. of Jalaun.

the camp of Sadik Khān. The Emperor sent an order through him re-instating Madhkur-Sāh, who thus returned to Orchha and governed the country again. But this policy of lenience proved a failure as regards the interests of the Emperor and soon after Akbar was obliged to send another expedition under Seiyid Raju Bāra Khān.¹ The Raja despatched Indarjit to meet it and he succeeded in defeating the Muhammadans who were driven back. In 1584 Prince Mirza Murād himself, the Khān Khānām Wazir, Raja Durga, Raja Jagannāth and Raja Rām Chandar renewed the attack. It is related in Firishta's history that when the Prince arrived near Orchha, Madhkur Sāh opposed him at the head of 50,000 men. The engagement which followed lasted 9 hours, and in it 5,000 Bundelas and 1,200 Sāwars were killed and Rām Sāh, Ratan Sen and Indarjit, three sons of the Raja wounded. His whole force fled but the Raja refused to retire, and with 300 horse-men armour-clad, charged the left flank of the Imperial army where Murād was commanding in person. He succeeded in wounding Murād so that he fell from his horse and lost his arms; Madhkur Sāh said to him "Why are you lying on the ground? Get up, take your weapons and fight." The prince answered, "Why do you not kill me now you have the chance?" The Raja replied, "I am a Kshattri, it is contrary to the custom of Kshattris to kill a weaponless man." Murād was so struck at this that he exclaimed, "I pardon you." The Raja said "I will make peace if you promise to restore my kingdom to me." Murād replied. "Such part of the kingdom as has been in your possession up to this date shall be restored to you and a sanad to this effect shall be given to you, but you will have to accept conditions." The battle then ceased; and the Raja entertained the Emperor's army for several days and showed great hospitality. Murād gave him a sanad bestowing on him the kingdom on condition that he should assist the Emperor with 7,000 Sāwars when the latter required them for war. After this the Imperial army advanced towards the Deccan to invade the dominions of Chānd Bibi (generally known as Chānd Sultāna).²

Madhkur Sāh entrusted his kingdom to his eldest son Rām Sāh, and to his grandson Bhupāl Rao he gave Chainpur³ in Jagir; the latter was the son of Horal Rao the Raja's second son, who had been killed in battle. Bhupāl Rao founded Bhupāl which was called after his name.

¹ Doubtless identical with the 'Seiyid Raja of Barhā, of Gazetteer, N.-W.P. I, 556.

² Of Ahmadnagar.

³ Said by the author to be in Bhupal near the Narbada, S. of Sāgar town and S.-E. of Bhupal.

Dulhar Rao the third son of Madhkur Sāh received Shivapuri¹ in Jagir; the favourite son Ratan Sen, Ghor-Jhāmai² the fifth Indarjit, Nad-kachuwa;³ the sixth Partāp Rao, Kūnch; the seventh Har Singh, Bhasneh;⁴ the eighth Birsingh Deva Baroui.⁵ Madhkur Sāh during his whole life only once visited the Emperor, on all other occasions on which he was summoned he sent his son Ratn Sen with 7,000 Sawars. His total revenue was two crores and ten lakhs. After a reign of 38 years he died in 1583⁶ having attained the age of 80 years.

At the time of his death his eldest son Rām Sāh was at the court of the Emperor at Delhi; the Emperor after condoling with him bestowed upon him the kingdom of his deceased father. The other members of the family who considered that they had rights to parts of the dominion brought forward their claims and two years passed before these were all settled. Finally such of them as had acquired their rights under Madhkur Sāh were continued them and their names and lands separately entered in the records. They were not entirely independent however, as the Raja enjoyed certain rights of supremacy as head of the family. The names of the sub-divisions are as follows:—(1) of the Kachhwāhas Rampūra (2) Raghubansis Patua Kachai⁷ (3) Gonds Bilahra⁸ (4) Dāngis, Garh Pahra⁹ (5) Panwars Konahra, (6) Gonds Bari;¹⁰ besides these grants he gave to the Dhanderas Sāhabād,¹¹ and to the Gantum clan Garhakota.¹² Lastly Bihat,¹³ Beona¹⁴ Kathera and Mahewa¹⁵ were given in jagir to four Bundela Thakurs.

Besides these estates of the brothers of the Raja and the four jagirs just mentioned, Kālpi and Bhanrer were given to Abdullah and Hasan Khān respectively. They were jointly bound to provide a total force of 7,000 Sawars for the Emperor in time of war. There were in this way altogether 22 sharers in the kingdom.

¹ Better known at Sipri.

² In Sāgar district, some 27 miles S. E. of Sāgar.

³ In Gwalior 5 miles N.-E. of Pichhar and 27 S.-W. of Jhansi.

⁴ In pargana Garotka (Jhansi district) 35 miles E. N.-E. of Jhansi.

⁵ See note 42.

⁶ The Gazetteer N.-W.P. (I, 556) gives 1593.

⁷ The state in the Baghelkhand Agency S.-E. of Kalinjar.

⁸ In Sāgar district, 13 miles S. of Sāgar.

⁹ In Sāgar district 6 miles N. N.-W. of Sāgar.

¹⁰ Said by the author to be near Cheripur (note 50).

¹¹ Said by the author to be between Guna and Narwar, in Gwalior.

¹² In Sāgar district, 26 miles E. of Sāgar.

¹³ The Jagir of that name on the borders of Jhansi and Hamirpur, (not of course as bounded at present).

¹⁴ Said to be in Jalau district.

¹⁵ Said by the author to be near Kalinjar.

In 1592 Birsingh Deva raised an insurrection, in which he was assisted by Indarjit and Partab Rao. They wrested Bhānēr and Pawain¹ from Hasan Khān, Karhara and Berchha² from Harduar Panwār, and Irichh³ from Abdullah. On learning of this Akbar despatched Daulat Khān, whom Rām Sāh joined. The Raja reduced Birsingh Deva to terms and brought him to Daulat Khān, and then returned to Orchha, while Daulat Khān went on to the Deccan accompanied by Birsingh Deva and the Raja's eldest son Sangrām Sāh. But before long Birsingh Deva on the pretence of hunting returned to his home in Baroni against the orders of the Imperial Commander. Daulat Khān marched after him, but on seeing that he was assisted by Bhopāl Rao, Partāp Rao and Indarjit, abandoned the idea. Shortly after this Akbar arrived at Narwar by way of Gwalior, and directed Raja Rām Sāh to either present before himself Birsingh Deva and Indarjit, who had in the interval stormed the forts of Narwar and Gwalior, or punish them severely himself. Rām Sāh with the aid of the Kachhwāhas and Pathāns went to Baroni, and after a few days' resistance succeeded in expelling Birsingh Deva thence. In this contest however Jugrup Kachhwāha a man of some note, was killed. As soon as Rām Sāh withdrew Birsingh Deva recovered possession of Baroni. But he very soon left it finding it not a safe place for him so long as Akbar and Rām Sāh were his enemies. He accordingly went to Prayāg to see Selim (known as Jehāngir after his accession). He was a son of Akbar and at that time Subadar of Allahabad and in revolt against his father. Selim received him with great favour and directed him to murder Abul-Fazl, who was then returning from the Deccan. This he accordingly did, and on the 9th Kātik 1660⁴ (A.D. 1603) killed the famous minister, midway between Narwar and Antri.⁵ Akbar was greatly enraged at the murder, and sent many chiefs under Tirpur Kshattri with a powerful force to capture Birsingh Deva; this force he ordered Sangrām Sāh the son of Rām Sāh to accompany. Birsingh Deva was besieged in the fort of Irichh, but after a few days' resistance, fled by night and went to Prayāg. Selim received him with great favour and promised to make him Raja of the whole of Bundelkhand as soon as he should ascend the throne. Birsingh Deva lived for a short time in Prayāg, and then returned to Bundelkhand, where joining with Sangrām Sāh he openly

¹ Probably in Gwalior on the Sindh river 15 miles N.-W. of Datia.

² Probably in Gwalior between Pachhor, Narwar and Bhārwar.

³ In pargana Motli (Jhansi district) 39 miles N.-E. of Jhansi.

⁴ Keane (*History of India*, I, 141) gives 13th August 1602.

⁵ 11 miles S.-E. of Gwalior.

revolted and expelled Hasan Khān from Bhānṛer and Kharag Rao from Lachūra.¹ The brother of Kharag Rao, who had been killed at the time of his expulsion, appealed to the Emperor, who ordered Indarjit to proceed with a powerful army, promising to give him the whole of Bundelkhand if he should defeat Birsingh Deva and Rām-Sāh. Indarjit begged that the Emperor himself should accompany the force, and would have obeyed the Imperial order, but that he was unwilling to ruin his eldest brother and make himself master of the kingdom. The Emperor dismissed him and sent Tirpur Kshattri with a large army to Orchha. When the general reached Gwalior, Rāj Singh and Rām Singh Kachhwāhās, the Bhadoriya Raja,² the Chauhan Raja and the Jāts³ joined his camp. As soon as the army reached Datia, Hasan Khān and Khwāja Abdullah joined it. In 1602 on the bank of the Betwa close to Orchha the conflict took place. The battle lasted several days between the Bundelas under Sangrām Sāh, Indarjit Partāp Rāo and Birsingh Deva on the one side, and the Imperial army on the other. Sangrām Sāh was killed, but the Bundelas were victorious. Indarjit being specially distinguished for his gallant conduct in taking the enemy's standards. Raj Singh Kuchhwāha who was with Tirpur's force, was wounded and captured by Birsingh Deva, but Rām Sāh sent him back to the Emperor's army with respect and honour. Tirpur Kshattri, after remaining quiet a few days at Bhāṛer, collected a fresh army there; but in the meantime Akbar had died and Selim had succeeded assuming the title of Jehāngir. In 1604⁴ he summoned Birsingh Deva, who with Bhārat Sāh the grandson of Rām Sāh and Indarjit went to Delhi. The Emperor bestowed on him the title of Maharaja and gave him a sanad appointing him ruler of the whole of Bundelkhand. The three returned to Irichh and Birsingh Deva offered his companions his condolences on the loss of their dominions. After this Indarjit went on an expedition with the Emperor's forces, and told Rām Sāh of Birsingh Deva's appointment; he straightway went to Irichh where Birsingh Deva received him as he had always hitherto done; but a misunderstanding soon occurred and Rām Sāh returned to Orchha and both parties prepared for war. By the order of Jehāngir, Khwāja Abdullah Jāgirdār of Kalpi, and Haidar Khān came to the assistance of Birsingh Deva, who was also joined by Partāp Rāo and the

¹ Now known as Ghāt Lachūra, 11 miles N.-E. of Mau-Rānipur in Jhansi district.

² The ancestor of the present Bhadoria Rājā of the Agra district.

³ Of Gohad, ancestors of the present Raja of Dholpūr.

⁴ This is obviously a mistake, as Jahangir succeeded in 1605.

Bundelas of Kathera. Birsingh Deva marched towards Orchha where he was opposed by Rām Sāh's forces under Bhupāl Rāo and Indarjīt. In the battle that ensued Indarjīt was wounded and the army of Orchha struck with panic fled. Bhupāl Rao with a small detachment forced his way into the fort, and continued to assist Rām Sāh. Negotiations were opened and Rām Sāh agreed to meet Khwāja Abdullah, who, however, treacherously made him prisoner and carried him to Delhi, where the Emperor received him with respect, but in order to stop further quarrels kept him captive for several years. By 1604¹ Birsingh Deva was supreme throughout the whole of Bundelkhand having reduced all the 22 chiefs who had participated in the kingdom. In 1608 after the Emperor had firmly established his power he released Rām Sāh and bestowed on him the Jāgir of Bār² yielding a revenue of three lakhs. The kingdom of Birsingh Deva contained 81 parganas and 12,500 villages; the total revenue was two crores. According to the Bundelkhand-Charite it was bounded on the North by the Jamna, on the South by the Narbada, on the West by the Chambal, and on the East by the Tons.

Birsingh Deva was well acquainted with the Dharam Shāshtra and laws generally. He was mindful of the sin he had committed in usurping his brother's kingdom, and feeling great remorse, in penitence made nine pilgrimages, and offered innumerable sacrifices. In Bindraban alone he presented 81 maunds of gold, a gift remembered to the present day. At Datia he built a grand palace at a cost of Rs. 36,90,980, which is still a notable structure. On one occasion by order of the Emperor, he attacked and overcame the Rajas of Rewa and Narwar. In 1613 he erected a temple in Bindraban at a cost of 30 lakhs. He performed the Tāraian Birt,³ and listened for seven days to the recitation of the Māha-purana. He was famed for his strict justice; in this connection it is told of him that one day his eldest son Jagat Deva when hunting, allowed his hound to kill a Brahma-chāri or hermit. On hearing thereof the Raja summoned his son to him, and put him to death for having caused the death of an innocent devotee.

He constructed the famous tanks of Bir Sāgar⁴ and Barwa Sāgar⁵

¹ Almost certainly wrong, see preceding note.

² In pargana Bānpūr (Jhansi district) 17 miles N.-E. of Lalitpur. The ruins of a fort and palace and several Muḥbaras still mark this former seat of rule.

³ This is a penance which consists in fasting by day for a month, only eating when the stars are visible.

⁴ In Orchha, 12 miles S. S.-E. of Orchha town.

⁵ In Jhansi district, 12 miles E. of Jhausi.

and many others—in all 52. About 1682 when Shāhjahān ascended the throne of Delhi, Birsingh Deva again revolted. The Emperor's forces defeated him and captured Orchha. He then with 10,000 Sawars commenced a guerilla war in which he was well seconded by Jujhār Singh and his own sons and brothers. After a year of this the Emperor restored the kingdom to the Bundelas, but offered it to Jujhār Singh. The Raja had ten sons :—(1) Har Deva, (2) Pāhar Singh, (3) Bhagwān Rao, (4) Kishor Singh, (5) Tursi Dās, (6) Rai Singh, (7) Krishn Dās, (8) Partāp Singh, (9) Mādho Singh, and (10) Chandar Bhān. He gave them respectively jagirs as follows :—(1) Taraoli,¹ (2) Tehri,² (3) Khargāpur,³ (4) Semra,⁴ (5) Palera,⁵ (6) Baragaon,⁶ (7) Chirgaon,⁷ (8) Kūnch, (9) Jaitpur,⁸ (10) Kakarbai.⁹ Each jagir was of such a size as to yield a revenue of one lakh.

In the spring of 1627 Birsingh Deva died and was succeeded by Jujhār Singh, who distrusted all the Bundelas and made some alterations and reductions in the Jagirs. His brother Chandarbhān entered the service of the Emperor and was appointed a Commander of 800 sawars and 1,500 foot. About 1631 Jujhār Singh in accordance with an order of the Emperor, went to Choragarh to fight on his behalf, and left his brother Har Deva at Orchha in charge of the kingdom. On his return, suspecting an intrigue between his wife and Har Deva, he questioned her, the Rāni replied, "as he is your brother I love him, there is nothing else between us." The Raja said, "if you are true obey me and poison him." The Rāni obeyed, but felt such remorse that she poisoned herself too. The Raja mourned her death deeply, and in 1632 performed the ceremony of Agmarshanyug to purge himself of the sin of murdering his brother. Munshi Harnarain, an historian, says that Har Deva after his death, appeared as a spirit and revealed to many that Jujhār Singh had poisoned him to prevent his succession, being himself childless. As soon as Shāhjahān heard of this he issued a proclamation directing altars to be erected in honour of Har Deva and the dethronement of Jujhār Singh. Bāki Khān was directed to enforce this order and went to Orchha with a strong force, but was defeated

1 In Orchha, 27 miles E. N.-E. of Jhansi.

2 The present capital of Orchha state.

3 In Orchha 20 miles E. of Tehri.

4 In Orchha, 14 miles S. of Orchha.

5 In Orchha, 18 miles S.-E. of Mau-Rānipur.

6 In pargana Jhansi, nine miles E. N.-E. of Jhansi.

7 In pargana Moth (Jhansi district) 17 miles N.-E. of Jhansi.

8 The former state of that name west of Mahoba now part of the Hamirpur district.

9 In pargana Garotha (Jhansi district) 50 miles N.-E. of Jhansi.

and returned to Delhi. In 1633 Shāhjahān despatched Muhabbat Khān from Agra, Khān Jahān,¹ from the Deccan and Khwājā Abdullah from Prayāg. These three armies converged on Orchha, and a severe conflict took place in which Salivahan the son of Champat Rai Jagirdar of Mahewa was killed. In the night after the battle when both armies were in their camps, Champat Rai took with him a body of Jujhār Singh's troops and unexpectedly fell upon the enemy. Bāki Khān and Shabar Khān the general were both killed, but in spite of the loss of their leaders the Imperial army gallantly opposed the Raja's forces and succeeded in separating the Raja from his allies; finally Jujhār Singh was completely defeated and fled to the Deccan, but fell ill and died in Gondwāna. Champat Rai continued a guerilla warfare, while the Imperial army returned to Delhi, and in 1635 the whole of Bundelkhand except Datia and Chanderi was annexed. For six years no one was appointed Raja of Orchha, and during the anarchy consequent thereon Champat Rai continued to ravage the country; he collected many of the late Raja's army, possessed himself of Orchha, plundered Sironj, captured Bhilsa and defeated the Sūbadar of Ujjain. In short he ravaged the country from Jhansi to Mahewa. In 1633 Shāhjahān sent an expedition commanded by Muhammad Shāh, Wali Bahādur Khān, Nausher Khān, and Abdullah Khān. Champat Rai was besieged in the fort of Orchha, and after a gallant resistance was defeated and his brother Pāhar Singh was sent for from Dhamoni² and set up in his place. He was not however entrusted with the whole of Bundelkhand, but only with such a portion of it as yielded a revenue of 60 lakhs, for Datia and Chanderi had long before this been annexed and made over to other rulers. Besides these two, several other small states were retained. Champat Rai succeeded however in escaping from the besieged fort, and continued his ravages as before.

Pāhar Singh had two sons Sujān Singh and Indraman. In 1651 Sujān Singh was installed as Raja on the death of his father. The famous tank at Arjār³ was constructed in his time. The Imperial Gazetteer states that the town of Rānipūr,⁴ which is close to Mau, was

¹ There would seem to be some mistake here, as the only Khān Jahān apparently known at this time was Khān Jahān Lodi, who revolted but was defeated and killed in 1631.

² In Sāgar district, 25 miles N. of Sāgar. This was later the most important seat of Muhammadan rule in South-Western Bundelkhand, and there are fine ruins of a very extensive fort externally somewhat of the style of that at Agra, and also ruins of a large walled town. The place now is almost entirely uninhabited and over-grown with jungle.

³ Half in Jhansi and half in Orchha, 18 miles E. S. E. of Jhansi.

⁴ According to the Gazetteer it was founded by his mother, the Rānī Hiradeva

built by him. He left no heir, and the kingdom passed to his brother Indraman. The latter died after three years in 1673, and his son Jaswant Singh succeeded him, but died in 1686, leaving the throne to his son Bhagwant Singh a minor. The widow of Indraman, Rānī Raj Kunwār, was appointed regent. In 1688, Bhagwant Singh died childless; and accordingly Aghota Singh the son of Bijhe Sāh was summoned from Baragaon in 1689 to be adopted. He was sent to Aurangzeb who approved the adoption and solemnly nominated him. Aghota Singh was a brave, hardworking and wise prince. About 1708 Bāljī¹ Marhātta invaded Bundelkhand and defeated Kamar Ali Khān who had been despatched by the Emperor to oppose him. Thereupon Shāhjāhan² ordered Aghota Singh to march against the Marhātta leader. The latter was slain in the first battle, and the army returned to the Deccan. In 1715 Aghota Singh constructed the statue of a man in gold, and presented it to Brahmans. He was then blessed with a child who was named Prithwi Singh. On one occasion Aghota Singh accompanied Bahādur Shāh the Mughal Emperor, to the Panjāb and distinguished himself by gaining a victory over the Sikhs.³ In his time the power of the Mughal Emperors began to decline, and the Marhāttas rose into importance, and repeated attacks were made by them on Delhi. In 1735 Malhār Rao Holkar with 100,000 men marched from the Deccan. Aghota Singh with the Raja of Datia and other of his relatives opposed him, and a disastrous conflict took place near Jhansi. On both sides the killed and wounded numbered about 9,000, but Malhār Rao and his chiefs were slain,⁴ and in consequence the army was disheartened and returned. Two months after this conflict in the middle of 1735, Aghota Singh died and was succeeded by Prithwi Singh. During his reign all his brothers and relatives turned against him and Rajendragir who had charge of the fort of Jhansi revolted and took possession of Jhansi and Moth.⁵ On the other side the country was ravaged by Gūjars and Kangārs. On the death of Prithwi Singh he was succeeded by his grandson Sānwant Singh. In 1748 Sāhū⁶ sent an expedition under

in 1678 (*Gazetteer N.-W. P.*, I. 573). There is an inexplicable error in the date somewhere.

¹ Presumably, Bāljī Visvanāth first Peshwa; it is probably meant that an invasion was made at his orders.

² This is obviously a mistake, and probably Bahādur Shāh (1707—12) is meant.

³ This was probably the expedition commanded by Muniān Khān (1710).

⁴ This is arrogating too much to the Bundelas, Malhār Rao Holkar was not slain, but was merely checked in 1736 by Saādāt Ali Khān Sūbadar of Oudh.

⁵ The N.-W. pargana of Jhansi district.

⁶ Maharaja of the Marhāttas. This event happened in 1742. According to *Gazetteer N.-W. P.* (I. 30).

Narū Shankar, who defeated the Raja and overthrew his kingdom. At that time the total revenue was Rs. 24,54,264. One-third of the territory including the seven parganas of Pachhor, Karhara, Moth, Garohta, Garwai,¹ Mau, and Jhansi, was annexed by the Marhāttas. The revenue of the ceded portions amounted to eight lakhs. The Marhāttas made Jhansi the head-quarters of the territory and Sheo Rao Bhao was appointed Governor. The Sanyāsis² were totally overthrown. Sānwant Singh ruled for eight years over the remaining part of his kingdom, and then died without heirs. His widow³ adopted Hati Singh, a grandson of Aghota Singh. In 1767 a quarrel occurred between Hati Singh and the Rānī. The army and the ministers siding with the Rānī, Hati Singh fled to Datia, where Indarjit received him with respect and gave him a handsome allowance. The Rānī after taking Tehri, adopted Pajan Singh the son of Lachman Singh; but in 1772 quarrelled with him also, and Pajan Singh went to Tehri and lived there for one year and a half, while the Rānī continued to rule the country. In 1774 disgusted with this world, Pajan Singh retired to Chitrakot, and devoted himself to religious exercises. The Rānī in the same year then installed Man Singh the son of Amresh of Mohangarh.⁴ These continual changes in the selection of a ruler gave Vishn Singh⁵ the opportunity to annex Amra⁶ and other villages yielding a total revenue of one lakh. The Rānī quarrelled with Mān Singh as she had done with his predecessors; and he retired to Rājgarh. In 1775 Kunwar Bhartichand, the great grandson of Aghota Singh, was adopted. After ruling three years he fell ill and died in 1778. During his illness he had solemnly nominated his brother Bikramajit as his successor. The state was now rapidly declining, there was great disunion between the various members of the family and the treasury was empty. The troops refused to perform their duties owing to their pay being in arrears. Bikramajit sold pargana Barwa Sāgar to the Sūbadar of Jhansi, and was thus able to pay the troops. He overthrew the Rajas of Taraoli, Mohangarh,

¹ Now forms the N.-E. part of pargana Jhansi in the Jhansi district.

² The author elsewhere states that when Birsingh Deva founded Jhansi fort he garrisoned it with Sanyāsis, whose successors these will probably have been. As to militant Sanyāsis in Bundelkhand, compare the fact (quoted in Crooke's "Castes," IV. 276) that 2,000 Sanyāsis attacked Col. Goddard in his march through Bundelkhand (1778).

³ Named Mahendra Rānī.

⁴ In Orchha, 20 miles N.-W. of Tehri.

⁵ Then Raja of Samthar.

⁶ In Samthar, 26 miles N.-E. of Jhansi.

Semra, Palera, and Jiron,¹ and annexed their territories. He distributed large sums to sink wells and dig tanks. On one occasion he engaged the Gwalior troops, and so utterly defeated them that it is said that not a man survived to tell the tale. After a long and successful reign of 56 years he died at Tehri leaving no heir.² In 1834 his brother Mathura Dās was installed, who was succeeded in 1840 by his adopted son Sujān Singh, who also died heirless. In 1853 Hamir Singh was adopted and placed on the throne. He was a debauchee and left no heir; and consequently on his death his brother Partāp Singh succeeded, and is still reigning.

Jagir of Khanya-Dāna.

The second son of Aghota Singh the Raja of Orchha, was Amresh. He with the help of the Peshwa's force obtained Mohangarh³ as his share in 1735. He had three sons, Māharāj Deva, Mān Singh, and Nannegir; Mān Singh was adopted by Mahendra Rani,⁴ and ascended the throne of Orchha, while Māharāj Deva succeeded to Mohangarh, and a jagir worth one lakh. After the death of Mān Singh his successor Bikramajit attempted to crush Māharāj Deva, who, leaving Mohangarh went to Khanya Dāna. His son and successor Jawāhir Singh negotiated a treaty with the British Government in 1808. He had two sons Pirthipāl and Bijhe Bahādur. In 1844 Mardan Singh Raja of Bānpūr⁵ made Pirthipāl Singh a Raja in his kingdom; but he was not recognised by the British Government or the Raja of Orchha. Pirthipāl Singh was succeeded by Gopāl Singh in 1863. He left two sons named Chitthar Singh and Mardan Singh. In 1869 Gopāl Singh died and was succeeded by Chitthar Singh. In 1877 at a grand Durbar held in honour of the Prince of Wales the title of Rao Rāja was conferred on him. Chitthar Singh is still in possession of Khanya Dāna, but has lately changed his name to Durga Singh.

Datia State.

In 1625 Māharāja Birsingh Deva seated Jujhār Singh on the throne of Orchha, and distributed jagirs to his remaining ten sons, so

¹ In Orchha, 17 miles S. of Orchha town.

² Raja Bikramajit entered into treaty with the British in 1812.

³ See note 102. Elsewhere the author states that Aghota Singh bestowed this jagir on his son in 1703, and that the Peshwa assisted him against Bikramajit of Orchha and gave him a sanad for Khanya-Dana in 1751, the two accounts are not necessarily discrepant.

⁴ Widow of Sānwant Singh Raja of Orchha.

⁵ See p. 37.

that each son got an estate of one lakh as his share. At that time Bhagwān Rai with two of his sons was at the Emperor's Court as the representative of his father Birsingh Deva. His other two sons Dhurmangad and Sakhat Singh were at Orchha; Birsingh Deva entrusted the list in which the share of Bhagwān Rai was recorded to Dhurmangad. This Dhurmangad was very brave and warlike. It is related of him that after swimming a river he met a lion on the bank which he killed with one blow of his fist. As soon as he received the list showing to what estate his father was entitled he went to Palera¹ and properly administered the country. Har Deva and his nine brothers also took possession of their respective jagirs. When Bhagwān Rai heard of this he returned with the Emperor's permission to Orchha, and asked his father saying, "What order have you for me?" The old Raja replied "Nothing, I have already distributed the kingdom among your brothers and you and given a separate list showing each one's share. The details of your share are with your son Dhurmangad Singh, go and take it from him." Bhagwān Rai not liking to quarrel with his son, asked his father to grant him the grand palace of Datia, four courtiers and 300 horsemen. The Raja did so, and gave him the palace and with it the secret treasure buried there. In 1626 Bhagwān Rai went to Datia with his two sons, Prithwi Rāj and Sabhakaran. On the death of Birsingh Deva he possessed himself of Baroni, which had been allotted for the maintenance of his father. He ruled 21 years and died in 1647. But the *Gazetteer* (of N.-W.P., I. p. 557) states that in 1640 Bhagwān Rai and his brother Beni Dās were killed by a Rājput in battle. In any case on the death of Bhagwan Rai his two sons Prithwi Rāj and Sabhakaran went to Delhi, and petitioned the Emperor to continue to them their father's jagir. But the Emperor was then engaged in despatching an expedition to the west, and could not attend to them. Accordingly the two brothers accompanied the expedition so as to please the Emperor by their valour and gallantry. At the very beginning of the battle the two young warriors charged the enemy at the head of 300 horse. The Imperial forces supporting them vigorously finally gained a complete victory. Prithwi Rāj was killed in the battle and Sabhakaran being wounded returned to Delhi. The Emperor was so pleased with his conduct that he offered him a jagir of 12 lakhs out of the kingdom of Orchha. On hearing this the widow of Prithwi Raj came to the capital, and begged the Emperor to do something for her son Chatharsāl. The Emperor willingly offered Chatharsāl Baroni with a revenue of Rs. 1,25,000 in jagir. From that time Sabhakaran was a jagirdar of 12 lakhs and Chatharsāl

¹ See note 84.

of 1½. Sabbkaran fought 22 battles for the Emperor, and died in 1684. He was succeeded by Rao Dalpat Rao, who built a fort in Datia. In 1707 there was a quarrel between Āzam Shāh and Bahādur Shāh.¹ On Āzam's side were only 22 Rajas, while all the remaining Rajas of India were on that of Bahādur Shāh. The latter marched from Delhi to attack Agra. Rao Dalpat Rao was in command² of Āzam's Shāh's force and advanced with the 22 Rajas to oppose the enemy's army. The battle took place at Jaju a village close to Agra. The struggle was severe and each side lost 21,000 men, amongst whom was Rao Dalpat Rao, who had bravely maintained his position till his death. It is said that one day he had shot 400 arrows. He left three sons Bhartichand, Rām Chandar, and Prithwi Singh. Of these Rao Bhartichand succeeded his father in 1708. He died in 1711 and was succeeded by his younger brother Rām Chandar. He was very strong and well-versed in astronomy and literature. At the time of his succession his son Rām Singh was a full grown man. The Raja quarrelled with him and exiled him. He accordingly took up his abode in Chanderi. During his exile he maintained himself by selling his furniture, ornaments, etc. After a short time he was blessed with a son whom he named Gumān Singh. He, at the age of twenty, had a son named Indarjit. The horoscope of this child was sent to Rām Chandar, who was then at Delhi. He scrutinized it and predicted that all the forefathers of the child would die within the year, but that the child would be pious and prosperous. Rāmchandar paid little heed to the prediction, and threw the horoscope into the fire. But the misfortunes foretold soon began to appear. Not long after this he was ordered by the Emperor Muhammad Shāh³ to subdue Bhagwān Rao Khichhi. Rām Chandar offered 108 cows and a maund of gold to Brahmans and set out with 1,000 horse. He was then 95 years of age but still wore his helmet and armour and could strike a mighty blow. The battle took place at Korajahānābad. Just before the battle he was reinforced by 7,000 men from Datia. Riding on his elephant he commenced the attack, and succeeded in driving the enemy from the field to the gate of the fortress, but being struck by a bullet fell dead in the howdah. A Thakur who was seated by him had the presence of mind and courage to put on the helmet of the deceased Raja, and ordered the army to advance. The troops stormed the fort and set up their standard on it. Bhagwān Rao Khichhi with a handful of men escaped by another road. After the victory the army

¹ The quarrel as to the succession on the death of Aurangzeb.

² The commander was Zulfikar, commander of the army of the Deccan.

³ 1719—1748.

performed the funeral ceremonies and returned to Delhi. Bahādur Shāh greatly mourned the death of the old warrior, and sent for his son to bestow on him a khilat and suitable rewards, but he was unable to come on account of illness. Within two years Rām Singh and Gumān Singh also died, and the Rāni of Rām Singh in 1746 installed Indarjit who was then a minor. She constructed the Sita tāl in Datia. The Mughal power was now rapidly declining. In 1748 Nāru-Shankar¹ marched from the Deccan to invade Bundelkhand. The Raja was still but a mere child and the Mahrāṭṭa general forced his ministers to surrender him pargana Bhanṛer. Pargana Ālampur² was at the same time given to Holkar. About 1819 Indarjit bestowed a jagir of 1½ lakhs in Samthar on Debi Dhar Rajdhar, and at the same time much alms; he also heard the recitation of 18 Puranas. He built the town of Indargarh³ naming it after himself. He died in 1752 and his son Satarjit succeeded him. In 1788 when Māhajit Singh was going from the Deccan to Delhi, he met Satarjit on his way, and such a friendship sprung up between them that they treated each other as brothers. In 1793 Pundit Gopāl Rāo invaded Bundelkhand at Mahādājī Sindhia's order, which however was approved by the Emperor Shāh Ālam. He first attacked Datia on the 13th Phāgun (March 1794) with 12 companies of infantry, 8,000 horse and 96 guns. The Raja came out from Datia with 10,000 foot and 80 guns. In three days 700 men and eight chiefs of the Raja, and 7,000 men of Gopāl Rao were killed or wounded. The Peshwa's general at Jhansi, Sheo Rao Bhao, persuaded the Raja to purchase peace by promising the Pundit to present him with something which he said in reality he would not have to pay. At the same time he advised Gopāl Rao to retire, which he said he could do without loss of glory. Both parties acted upon his advice, and fighting ceased, and Sindhia's general returned to the Deccan. In 1797 Sindhia⁴ again sent a force of 20,000 foot and 50 guns under Ambhaji Ingliā. This army reached Bhānṛer and in the month of Phāgun (March 1798) overcame and killed 200 horse and foot and five officers who held Kanjoli⁵ on behalf of the Raja; the artillery was also captured. In Cheit (April) he besieged the Raja's son who was in the fort of Seonrha⁶ with a garrison of 12,000 men. For eight months the firing was incessant. Finally Sindhia's force attempted to

¹ See p. 24.

² This pargana consists of several isolated portions imbedded in Gwalior territory a short distance west of Jalaun district; and is still held by Holkar.

³ In Datia, 12 miles N. N.-E. of Datia town.

⁴ This must be Daulat Rao Sindhia, as Mahādājī Sindhia had died in 1794.

⁵ A place in the neighbourhood of Indargarh.

⁶ In Datia on the Sindh River, 40 miles N.-E. of Datia.

storm the fortress. The garrison after first pouring a volley into the attackers, sallied out and drove them back a mile or so. Both sides lost some 6,000 men, but Ambaji abandoned the siege and retired towards the Kachhwāha country.¹ In 1800 Bāli Rao came with 16 battalions of infantry, 7,000 horse and 80 guns. A severe conflict took place at Bilahri.² Raja Satarjit,³ Raja Jai Singh, Raja Durjan Sāl, Diwan Chithar Singh of Jakhlon,⁴ Rao Dalil Singh, Jargoji Lakhpoji,⁵ and other Bundela chiefs advanced with 4,000 men to oppose him. But defeat or victory is in the hands of Providence, Raja Jai Singh, Diwan Chithar Singh and Dalil Singh were beaten off and withdrew to their respective dwellings, and Durjan Sāl retreated to Bhāurér. But Satarjit and Jargoji Lakhpoji continued to stoutly oppose Sindhia's forces close to Seonrha, where they were joined by Lāl Sāh and many other Kachhwāhas. Durjan Sāl returned from Bhānrer. Finally another battle was fought and Bāli Rao defeated.

In 1801 Daulat Rao Sindhia sent an army of 5,000 horse, four battalions of infantry and 18 guns under Pirū Sāh⁶ to reinforce Bāli Rao. As soon as he got near Seonrha the Bundelas attacked him at the pass (ghāti). After twelve hours' fighting the Raja's force yielded and fled in all directions. But Satarjit with his 30 selected horsemen charged the left flank of the enemy's army, and wounded Pirū Sāh with his spear. But one of the chiefs of Sindhia's force gave him a severe cut on the head with his sword, which would have caused him to fall from his horse had he not been caught by Wali Panwār, and with the help of Rohāz Khān and other troopers carried off safely into the fort. The Raja died the same evening and his funeral ceremonies were performed. He was succeeded by Pārīchat.

In consequence of the death of General Pirū, Sindhia's army retreated and in 1802 a treaty of peace was concluded with Sindhia. Pārīchat was a great statesman and beloved by both his subjects and his army; but he had no heir. One day he found a child in the jungle whom he adopted and named Bijhe Bahādur, and on his death on the 3rd Magh 1893 (A.D. 1839) this son succeeded him. Bijhe Bahādur fought with Sindhia at Daboh,⁷ but soon after becoming insane died

¹ i. e., the present Jalaun district.

² 10 miles W. of Datia in Gwalior.

³ Called Chatharsāl in *Gazetteer*, N.-W.P., I. 409.

⁴ In pargana Lalitpur, Jhansi district, 11 miles S.-W. of Lalitpur.

⁵ Probably identical with Lakhevā-dādā.

⁶ Better known as M. Perron.

⁷ The chief town of the pargana of that name in Gwalior, 30 miles W. S.-W. of Jalaun.

on the 8th Katik 1914 (October 1857 A.D.) Bhagwān Singh the son of Diwān Mahewaran Singh was adopted and succeeded on the 3rd Aghan (December). He is still in possession of the Rāj, and has received the title of Lokendra Māharāja from the British Government.

Chanderi State.

Madhkur Sāh's eldest son Rām Sāh was the Raja of Orchha, but his brother Birsingh Deva dethroned him by order of the Emperor Jahāngir in 1604.¹ Rām Sāh continued to resist for some time but was finally captured and brought before the Emperor by Abdullah Khan in 1605.¹ He was received and treated with respect, but to avoid chance of future disturbances the Emperor detained him in Delhi as a State prisoner. Meantime Birsingh Deva made himself the master of all Bundelkhand. During the absence of Rām Sāh, his grandson Bhārat Sāh and other numerous relations continued in arms and succeeded in seizing Patheri. After several days' fighting Birsingh Deva regained it, but Bhārat Sāh was far from being finally subdued, and captured Dhamoni shortly after. In 1608 the Emperor released Rām Sāh and gave him in jagir Bār² and the surrounding country valued at three lakhs. He made Bār his capital and collected all his relations there. He had eleven sons and seven grandsons; his eleven sons were (1) Sangrām Sāh (2) Hari Dās; (3) Bithul Dās; (4) Mohan Rao; (5) Tirbhuan Rao; (6) Sujān Rao; (7) Bhāwat Rao; (8) Mukatman; (9) Balbhadra; (10) Makund, and (11) Kunwarju. Of these the eldest Sangrām Sāh had been killed long before in the battle of Orchha. The remaining ten sons, and seven sons of Sangrām Sāh came to Bar and settled there. Sangrām Sāh's sons were:—(1) Bhārat Sāh, (2) Krishn Rao, (3) Rūp, (4) Kirat, (5) Dhārū; (6) Chandar Hans; (7) Mān. So large a family was maintained by a territory yielding but three lakhs per annum. In 1612 Rām Sāh died and his grandson Bhārat Sāh succeeded him. In 1616 Bhārat Sāh defeated Godarām, who was governor of Chanderi on behalf of the king of the Deccan and seized the town. In the same year he met Mirza Shāh Jahān on his way to the Deccan under the orders of the Emperor, and told him the story of the storming of Chanderi, at which Shāh Jahān was pleased and granted him a sanad.

Bhārat Sāh built the present fort of Tālbehat in 1618, and divided

¹ See note 74, the dates are obviously a year or two too early.

² See note 76.

his kingdom into four parts:—Dudhai,¹ Haraspur,² Golakot³ and Kāngarh.⁴ At that time his dominion was valued at 9 lakhs, of which he gave shares to his brothers:—to Krishn Rao several villages in Bānsi⁵ yielding a revenue of Rs. 75,000, he built the fort which still exists there, and also Raor in Lalitpur city, which includes a fine well⁶ and is now occupied by the Municipal School; to Diwān Rūp villages in pargana Bijrotha⁷ worth Rs. 12,000; to Diwān Kirat, Kakarua⁸ with a revenue of Rs. 12,000, to Chandar Hans Jāmandāna⁹ valued at Rs. 10,000; to Diwān Dhārū, Karesra¹⁰ worth Rs. 12,000 in jagir; and to Diwān Mān, Barodā¹¹ with a revenue of Rs. 4,000.

After Bhārat Sāh, Debi Singh ascended the throne at the age of 16.¹² He was renowned in astronomy, medicine, literature, and the law (Dharmshāstra) and was at the same time an excellent shot. In 1665 he accompanied an expedition which was sent by the Emperor to subdue Kābul. There he lost 15,000 horse, and his Diwān Udebhān,¹³ but ultimately the Imperial army was victorious. The Emperor being pleased with him granted him the following parganas in Bundelkhand:—Garola, Khemlasa, Rahatgarh, Etawah, Basoda, Udepūr, Bersia, Bhilsa, Sironj and Mālthon.¹⁴ With this addition the revenue of the kingdom of Chanderi totalled Rs. 24,00,000.

¹ In pargana Bālabehat (Jhansi district) 19 miles S. of Lalitpur. There are a large number of Chandel ruins and a large Chandel tank here. For description see Munkarji's "Report on the Antiquities of Lalitpur" and Cunningham's "Archaeological Reports."

² See note 35.

³ An old deserted fort lying East of Isagarh in Gwalior.

⁴ On the Betwa in Gwalior, 23 miles S.-W. of Lalitpur.

⁵ In pargana Bānsi (Jhansi district) 12 miles, N. of Lalitpur.

⁶ The well is a large baoli on which is an inscription dated 1628 A.D.

⁷ A large village in Talbehat pargana (Jhansi district) 19 miles N. of Lalitpur, still held by his descendants.

⁸ In Lalitpur pargana (Jhansi district) 3 miles S. W. of Lalitpur; the descendant of the original grantee has recently been sold up.

⁹ Jāmandāna Kalan, in Lalitpur pargana (Jhansi district) 12 miles S. by W. of Lalitpur. Still held by his descendants.

¹⁰ Karesra Kalan, pargana Talbehat, (Jhansi district) 28 miles N. of Lalitpur. Still held by his descendants.

¹¹ Baroda Dāng, pargana Bānpūr (Jhansi district) 18 miles N. N.-E. of Lalitpur. Still held by his descendants.

¹² In 1646.

¹³ An ancestor of the author.

¹⁴ This tract forms the S.-W. of the Sāgar district and the native territory adjoining it.

Garola, Khemlasa, Etawah and Mālthon are now in Tahsil Khorai Sāgar district. Rahatgarh is in Sāgar Tahsil, Sāgar district.

In 1679 Debi Singh fought successfully in Bengal¹ constructed the Singh Sāgar lake and founded the village of Singhpūr. The tank and village are both near Chanderi and still in existence. He built the Singh bāgh in Tālbehat which still exists but in ruins. Debi Singh died in 1717 at the age of 87, leaving three sons, Sahju, Senapati and Durag Singh. They all went to Delhi that the Emperor might select the successor, Bhanu the priest, who was at that time regent, recommended Sahju as being the eldest son, but Aurangzeb suspecting his choice sent for Rao Gomat and Rao Hada the two generals of the late Raja and asked them who was the lawful heir. They said that Sahju was an illegitimate son, Senapati a grandson whom the deceased Raja had adopted, and that Durag Singh alone was born from the Rāni. The Emperor accordingly nominated Durag Singh as successor. He gave pargana Kanjia² to Sahju with the title of Raja. To Senapati he gave Bhāngarh³ with several other villages worth in all about Rs. 12,000 per annum. But Durag Singh was made suzerain over both. While making these grants Aurangzeb retained Bersia for himself and appointed Dost Muhammad, who had recovered Malwa for the Emperor from the Mahrāttas, its Superintendent. This is the man who subsequently established the kingdom of Bhupāl.

In 1728 Raja Durag Singh defeated Bāgha Banjhāra.⁴ In 1732 Sankar Rao came from the Deccan with 10,000 horse to attack Chanderi. But the Raja defeated and killed him at the Singhpur pass, and plundered his cavalry.

On the death of Durag Singh his son Durjan Singh succeeded in

Basoda and Udepur, are South of Bina, the former a station on the I. M. Ry. Bersia the most Western part of Bhupāl.

¹ At the orders of the Emperor.

² Till 1861 part of Gwalior, then exchanged for pargana Chanderi and other territory, and now forming the N.-W. corner of Khorai Tahsil (Sagar district).

³ In Khorai tahsil (Sagar district) 20 miles N. N.-W. of Khorai.

⁴ The story of Bāgha, and of some clan of the Banjārās is thus related by the author. "A Raja of Asanagar near Bikanir was bitten by a snake and Jāti a Jaini Guru promised him recovery if he and his people turned Jains; this he agreed to do and recovered. But some of his subjects refused to obey his orders to become Jains and left his state resolving henceforward to have no settled abode lest they should be again forced to do as they had just done; they thus became Banjārās. Bāghā was the son or grandson of the leader of these secessionists, and is said to have had 2,000 armed followers and 12,000 head of cattle. Hitherto these Banjārās had paid dues, etc. on entering different states, but Bāgha and his followers refused to do so, and though on several occasions attacked by the Imperial troops had been unsuccessful till this occasion. But the legends of Bāghā are numerous: the criminal fraternity of the Sanorias have a legend that the first grant of 12 villages in Lalitpur and Orchha was for killing this same Bāgha.

1733.¹ In his time Govind Bundela² of Sāgar seized Garola, Mālthon, Khemlasa and Rahatgarh. In 1735 Malhār Rao invaded Bundelkhand with an army of 100,000 and defeating Durjan Singh, annexed Bhilsa, Sironj, Udepūr, and Basoda, and erected a fort on the boundary, which he called after his own name Malhārgarh.³

Durjan Singh left four sons, Mān Singh, Zorāwal Singh, Sūba Sahib and Dhīraj Singh. Of these Mān Singh succeeded him. During his reign⁴ Pandit Nāru Sankar came from the Deccan, and annexed half the country comprising Mungaoli, Sahrai, Piprai,⁵ Kanjia and Isagarh. Mān Singh gave Pāli⁶ to his brother Zorāwal Singh, Bamori⁷ to Sūba Sahib, and Bānpūr⁸ to Dhīraj Singh. He had two sons Anrudh Singh and Hati Singh. Mān Singh built the fort of Mahroni,⁹ and dying in 1760 was succeeded by Anrudh Singh. Rao Hati Singh, who lived with him, acted as his deputy rather than as a minister. In 1775 Anrudh Singh died, leaving a son named Rām Chandar, who was only a boy, at the time. Hati Singh did not place Rām Chandar on the throne, but himself ruled the country as regent. The Rāni suspecting Hati Singh's intentions, fled one night with the boy and 50 sawars to

¹ The dates given here for the accession of the Rajas of Chanderi are very different from those in the *Gazetteer* N.-W. P. (I. 350 *et seq.*). They are:—

Raja.	According to the		According to the
	author.		<i>Gazetteer.</i>
Debi Singh —1717	1646—1663
Duraj Singh 1717—1733	1663—1687
Durjan Singh 1733—	1687—1733
Mān Singh —1760	1733—1746
Anrud Singh 1760—1774	1746—1774

I have not so far been able to explain the discrepancy.

² Better known as Govind Pundit, the Mahratta leader who assisted Chathar Sāl when nearly overwhelmed by the Muḥammadans, and whom Chathar Sāl rewarded with one-third of his kingdom.—(1731). Ancestor of the Rajas of Jalaun, Jhansi and Gursarai.

³ In Gwalior on the Betwa on the Western border of the Sāgar district.

⁴ Probably 1748 (see p. 24).

⁵ Sahrai and Piprai are both near Mungaoli in that part of Gwalior which borders the N.-W. portion of Sāgar district.

⁶ In pargana Bālabehat (Jhansi district) 15 miles S. of Lalitpur, still held by his descendants.

⁷ Bamori Kalan, pargana Lalitpur, district Jhansi, 7 miles S. S.-W. of Lalitpur. His descendants have lost possession of the village.

⁸ In the pargana of that name (Jhansi district) 22 miles E. of Lalitpur. Dhīraj Singh's descendants no longer hold it, but possess in jagir Gadiāna (10 miles N.-E. of Lalitpur) and a few other villages.

⁹ Head-quarters of the tahsil of that name in the Jhansi district, 23 miles E. S.-E. of Lalitpur.

Achalgarh,¹ and took up her abode at Chaudhri Kirat Singh's house. He immediately sent a letter to Jākhlon whence Diwān Dhurmangad Singh started with 500 men and arrived at Achalgarh. In addition to his own men he collected 50 horse from among the Zamindars and 100 sepoys of the Chaudhri's. Thus with 100 horse and 600 foot behind him he reached Chandheri, and set up Rām Chandar in the presence of Hati Singh. Kirat Singh was made regent and Dhurman-gad Singh Commander-in-Chief. Hati Singh withdrew to the fort of Tālbehat, and prepared to fight. After a while Rām Chandar's force arrived there and a conflict ensued which lasted several months. Ultimately Rām Chandar proved victorious and gave 16 villages including Masora² to Hati Singh. In 1778 Rām Chandar was firmly seated on the throne. In 1783 he put to death Hati Singh and a Brahman of Tālbehat; remorse however came upon him, and he was so much afraid of their spirits which haunted him, that he made pilgrimages to all the shrines of India, but all without avail. Finally he visited Ajudhya, where, finding a refuge from his fears he spent the remainder of his days. During his absence from the kingdom one of his relatives named Devaju Panwār, collected a portion of the revenue and sent it to the Raja for his maintenance.

Meantime³ Abha Sāhib sent an expedition under Morupanth from Sāgar to overthrow the kingdom of Chanderi. There marched out to meet the Marhāttas of the Bundelas Rao Umrao Singh of Rajwāra⁴ with 2,000 men, Diwān Chithar Singh of Jākhlon with 1,500, the Chaudhri of Achalgarh with 1,000, and Durjan Sāl Khichhi with 500 horse; these all assembled at Lalitpur. A battle was fought between Lalitpur and Panari⁵ which lasted the whole day, 500 men of Chithar Singh's were killed, and he himself wounded. The battle was indecisive and both parties returned to their homes.

Rajā Ram Chandar had four sons Parjāpāl, Mūr Pahlād, Bāwan-pāl and Chithar Singh. In 1802 he appointed Parjāpāl to succeed him and sent him from Ajudhia to Chanderi. He subjugated all the Bundelas, but was killed in the battle of Rajwāra.⁶ He was succeeded by Mūr Pahlād. In his time a Frenchman named Jean Baptiste Filose,

¹ In Gwalior, 10 miles N. of Mungaoli.

² Masora Khurd, 3 miles, S.-E. of Lalitpur.

³ 1787.

⁴ 3 miles, N.-E. of Lalitpur.

⁵ A village 2 miles, N.-E. of Lalitpur.

⁶ *Sc.* the battle just mentioned. In the *Gazetteer* (I. 351). Parjāpāl is said to have been murdered, but the author tells me he, when young, met survivors from the battle who relate that Parjāpāl was wounded in the battle and survived it 15 or 20 days dying in Lalitpur where a Mukbara in his honour stands now.

who was a general of Sindhia's attacked Chanderi in 1811. On his way to Chanderi he conquered the jagirdars of Geora,¹ Bānsi, Kotra,² Nanora,³ Barwār,⁴ Rajwāra, Mahroni, Jākhlon, Deogarh, etc., and arrived at the capital. Raja Mūr Pahlād fled to Jhansi. But Diwān Bakht Singh and Kunwar Umrao Singh his two brothers, together with the jagirdars of Jākhlon, held the fort for three months. At last through the treachery of a Thakur of Silgan⁵ it fell into the hands of Jean Baptiste Filose. Tālbehat was next attacked and captured after a siege of three months. In 1812 Sindhia's general gave 31 villages⁶ to Mūr Pahlād, and reduced the remainder of the kingdom of Chanderi to submission. In 1828 all the Bundelas together with the Raja determined to overthrow the sovereignty of Sindhia, and sent a Vakil to the Agent to the Governor-General of India in Banda with a complaint that Sindhia was forcibly depriving them of their kingdom. In 1830 Col. Filose came from Gwalior and the Mīr Munshi from Banda to reconcile the two parties. It was settled by treaty that one-third of the kingdom, valued at Rs. 1,65,631 per annum should be retained by Raja Mūr Pahlād, and the remaining two-thirds be given over to Sindhia. From that date Mūr Pahlād was known as Raja of Bānpūr. After his death his son Mardan Singh succeeded him in 1842. He [rebelled in the mutiny and his territory] was [confiscated and himself] granted a pension of Rs. 9,600 per annum. At present his grandson Nirwe Singh residing in Datia, receives a pension of Rs. 500 per month.

Sangrām Sāh the son of Raja Rām Sāh had seven sons. The reign of Krishn Rao one of these seven sons, will now be described. In 1612, when Maharaja Rām Sāh died in Bar his grandson Bhārat Sāh succeeded him. Krishn Rao was the son of the first Rāni, but being younger than his step-brother, was passed over for the throne, and appointed to assist in the administration at head-quarters. As soon as Chanderi fell into the hands of Bhārat Sāh he distributed "Haks"—(rights, estates) to his brothers. But Krishn Rao refused to take his 'hak' and came to Lalitpur under pretence of collecting revenue. From Lalitpur he sent a representative to Shāhjāhān petitioning him to

¹ Pargana Tālbehat, Jhansi district, 33 miles N. N.-E. of Lalitpur.

² 21 miles N. N.-W. of Lalitpur.

³ On the Betwa 18 miles N.-W. of Lalitpur.

⁴ 6 miles W. N.-W. of Lalitpur.

⁵ 3 miles N.-W. of Lalitpur; the man's name was Budh Singh, not of Chanderi as stated in the *Gazetteer* (I. 352). The author tells me he actually met him in his youth.

⁶ The chief of which was Kelgawan 23 miles N.-E. of Lalitpur.

grant him the 'hak' to which he was entitled as son of the first Rāni. The Emperor ordered Bhārat Sāh to give him one-eighth part of the kingdom. He accordingly granted his brother a jagir of Rs. 75,000 in Bansi together with Raor and a garden in Lalitpur city. The ten uncles and four brothers of Bhārat Sāh, who had been made separate shareholders in the kingdom were made subject to Krishn Rao. From this time the descendants of Krishn Rao have been known as the "Bānsi-walas." They were entitled to take their seats on the right hand in Durbar, and were invested with the right of installing the Raja. Krishn Rao built a fort in Bānsi and a well in Raor, where is now the Lalitpur Municipal School. He had three sons Bishan Rai, Udebhān and Dalip Narain, and died in 1643 when he was succeeded by Bishan Rai. Udebhān accompanied Debi Singh (Raja of Chanderi) to Kābul with an expedition sent by the Emperor of Delhi, and was killed there with 50 horsemen. As a remuneration the Emperor gave his son Makund Singh the title of Diwān, and presented him with a horse and two swords in addition to 58 villages in pargana Etāwah.¹ Makund Singh kept this jagir separate from that which had been granted him by his grandfather Krishn Rao. His uncle Bishan Rai was annoyed at this and confiscated his 'hak'; Makund Singh complained against him to Māhārāja Debi Singh, and the discussion continued for some years, until finally in 1683 it was agreed that the petitioner should get villages worth Rs. 27,000 from the jagir.²

Diwān Makund Singh had two sons, Dāl Singh and Naraingir; to the former he gave pargana Etāwah, and to the latter the Bānsi villages. After having done this he went to Delhi, and accompanied the Imperial army commanded by Subharām to Kandahār where he was killed in 1760. Maharāja Debi Singh gave the title of Diwān to Dāl Singh and Naraingir and confirmed them as jagirdars of Etāwah and Datia respectively.³

In 1735 Malhār Rao Holkar⁴ came from the Deccan and killed Dāl Singh. His son Dhan Singh then left Etāwah and went to Datia.⁵ In 1737 Abulfazl, an Imperial general, attacked Chanderi and a battle was fought at Datia in which Diwān Naraingir and 300 sepoys were slain. After his death his son Dhurmangad Singh succeeded him.

¹ Now part of Khorai Tahsil in Sagar district.

² These villages lay in the S.-W. of Lalitpur sub-division, around Jākhlon, Deogarh and Datia, at which last named is a ruined fort on the Betwa three miles above Deogarh.

³ See note 168.

⁴ See page 23.

⁵ Near Deogarh (note 169).

The latter had six sons, Bakht Singh, Umrao Singh, Chithar Singh Udiajit, Nirpat Singh, and Rājagir.

Dhurmangad Singh took great interest in improving the jagir, and also in religious matters. During his life he entrusted the whole of the affairs of the jagir to Chithar Singh and Bakht Singh, making Jākhlon the chief place in his jagir; but himself left his family and retired into the Sidh-Gupha¹ with two or three men and became a devotee. Shortly after this he died (in 1794) and his sons divided the jagir between them. Chithar Singh and Udiajit received $1\frac{1}{2}$ shares and Diwān Bakht Singh and Umrao Singh one share only. Diwān Bakht Singh built a fort at Nanora while Kunwar Umrao Singh and Udiajit erected forts at Baroda,² and Dudhai respectively, both of which are now in ruins. Chithar Singh also built a fort at Chapra,³ and a temple to Ganesh in Jākhlon. He was both war-like and fortunate. In 1785 he wrested Sahrai,⁴ Isagarh, Sarai⁵ Chachonra⁶ etc., in all 12 parganas, from the Peshwa. The annual revenue of the 12 parganas was not less than 7 lakhs. He had an escort of 50 horsemen, and 1,500 sepoy who always attended him. On several occasions he helped the Rajas of Panna, Datia, Dholpur, Bajranggarh⁷ etc. It was he who repulsed the formidable attack of Morupanth of Sāgar in 1787 and saved the kingdom of Chanderi. In 1807, Udiajit died and Chithar Singh in 1808. His brother Diwān Bakht Singh outlived him. In 1781 Dādu Bāba of Malhārgarh, who was one of the Peshwa's governors, unsuccessfully attacked Piprai.⁸ In 1795 Sindhia's army with a strong force of artillery came from Pirghāt⁹ to attack Piprai, but was repulsed by Bakht Singh. In 1800 Bāli Rao, a general of the Peshwa, with 12,000 men attacked Jākhlon; the battle lasted the whole day. By evening Diwān Chithar Singh arrived from Deogarh and in the next day peace was negotiated and Bāli Rao went to Tori.¹⁰

1 A cave in the cliff under the fort at Deogarh over-looking the Betwa, it contains a rock cut inscription recording that Sohanpāl took Kurār in Sambat 1345 (1288 A.D.).

2 Baroda Swami, 3 miles E. of Nanora, still held by the descendants of Kunwar Umrao Singh.

3 8 miles S. S.-W. of Chanderi.

4 See note 151.

5 Is Nai Sarai in Gwalior 26 miles N.-E. of Guna.

6 In Gwalior 38 miles S.-W. of Guna.

7 Now in Gwalior 6 miles S. of Gwalior.

8 This Piprai is in pargana Bālabehat (Jhansi district) 19 miles S. by W. of Lalitpur.

9 On the Narain river in the extreme south of pargana Bālabehat.

10 In Gwalior 5 miles N.-E. of Mungaoli and 7 miles S.-W. of Deogarh.

In the beginning of 1812 Sindhia's general Colonel Filose, with eight battalions and 200 horse attacked Chanderi. Maharaja Mūr Pahlād being unable to defend it fled to Jhansi, and Diwān Bakht Singh and Umrao Singh opposed him. At first the general besieged the fort of Nanora whence Bakht Singh and Umrao Singh, after bravely maintaining their position with the help of 60 sepoy for eight days, fled. Colonel Filose attacked Jākhlon a second time in 1812. Diwān Bakht Singh maintained a resistance the whole day, and in the evening retreated to Deogarh. After eight days the colonel followed him there and after three more days fighting drove Bakht Singh to Chanderi. Mūr Pahlād then fled to Jhansi leaving his fort to be defended by Bakht Singh. The siege was carried on for several weeks but in the end through the treachery of a Thakur¹ the town was surrendered. Bakht Singh and Umrao Singh held out in the fort of Chanderi till provisions ran short, when they fled to Piprai.² Sindhia's general followed them there but being defeated, on the same day went to Pāli,³ and halted there with his army. Another battle was fought at Dudhai and the colonel was beaten off. He then returned to Lalitpur and leaving two companies there started to Tālbehāt. In 1813 Diwān Bakht Singh attacked Lalitpur and after driving out Sindhia's troops plundered the town. As soon as he heard of the expected return of Colonel Filose he marched out and opposed him at Tenta,⁴ but being defeated went to Nanora and after a short time to Jāmandāna⁵ and there cut up 200 of Sindhia's Sāwars. In 1814 a skirmish took place at Amroth⁶ and the colonel was compelled to retire with the loss of four companies. In the same year Bakht Singh fell ill; a vakil was sent and a peace concluded by which the colonel granted him his former jagir. The Diwān died soon after at Telhri, and was succeeded in the jagir by his son Diwān Gambhīr Singh aged 13, with his uncle Umrao Singh as guardian. In 1821 Siām Rao was appointed governor of the district on behalf of Sindhia. He confiscated the muafi in Malhārgarh, which yielded an annual income of Rs. 1,300. Diwān Bahādūr Gambhīr Singh marched out to oppose the confiscation, and encountered Siam Rao at the head of a small force. The fight lasted six hours and resulted in the repulse of Siam Rao, who withdrew to Malhārgarh; Diwān Bahādūr was however wounded. After this a series of small fights ensued between him and Sindhia's

¹ See p. 37.

² See note 180.

³ See note 152.

⁴ 16 miles N. of Lalitpur.

⁵ Jamandāna Kulan. See note 137.

⁶ Said by the author to be near Pachhor in Gwalior.

forces, full details of which cannot be given in order; they will accordingly be merely summarized. On one occasion Siām Rao came to Parāsari,¹ whence being defeated, he retired. On another occasion he attacked the village of Pāli, and after 15 days' fighting was repulsed. He once besieged the fort of Nanora, and captured it in 15 days; but a few days later there was another fight at Kāli Dūn² in which he was defeated and driven back. He was then superseded by Mādho Rao, but the new Governor was defeated at Bikrampūr,³ and forced to retreat. Soon after he unsuccessfully attacked Diwān Bahādūr at Bhuchera,⁴ but was driven off to a distance of four miles. He was next repulsed at Khānd.⁵ After this another of Sindhia's officers Lachman Rao attacked Nanora, and an engagement occurred which lasted for 15 days. Another battle was fought at Gahora,⁶ and Diwān Gambīr Singh, being defeated, fled to Datia.⁷ Lachman Rao again came at the head of two companies and 500 horse, and Diwān Bahādūr with several Bundela chiefs opposed him; fighting lasted eight days; both sides lost 500 men and Sindhia's army withdrew to Lalitpur. Finally a treaty was concluded by which the 'hak' was restored, and Diwān Bahādūr secured the treatment to which he considered himself entitled on the occasion of an interview. In addition to this Diwān Bahādūr had fights with several other Rajas and jagirdars:—the Rao of Rajwāra, Raja of Orchha, Rao of Khanyadāna, jagirdar of Murwāri,⁸ jagirdar of Gora,⁹ and the jagirdar of Kisalwāns.¹⁰ As early as 1813 he had fought Colonel Filose at Garhakota. In 1828 he dug a tank at Jākhlon.

In 1829, when Bikramajit Raja of Orchha wished to regain Chanderi by paying the charges of the Gwalior Contingent, he appointed his son Mardan Singh commander of his army, and Umrao Singh of Rajwāra, and Umrao Singh of Jākhlon as his advisers. Diwān Gambhir Singh was made a general and Bakshi Bakht Singh of Tālbehat was put in charge of the cavalry. The campaign began by an attempt on the part of Bakshi Bakht Singh to storm Mahroni, but in this he was prevented by the arrival of a force of Sindhia's with two light guns, and accord-

¹ On the W. bank of the Betwa opposite Deogarh.

² In the Bālabehat pargana a few miles S.-E. of Dudhai.

³ In Gwalior 4 miles S.-E. of Chanderi.

⁴ 23 miles N.N.-E. of Lalitpur.

⁵ A rocky hill N. of Bhuchera.

⁶ In Gwalior 3 miles N.-W. of Isagarh.

⁷ See note 169.

⁸ 9 miles N.-W. of Lalitpur.

⁹ In Gwalior 9 miles N. N.-E. of Chanderi.

¹⁰ The author cannot say where this is, beyond that it is not the Kisalwāns on the Betwa 17 miles N.-W. of Lalitpur.

ingly retired to Khiria,¹ but not before Tilok Singh of Gurha² had been killed in the fighting. Sindhia's troops did not follow them to Khiria as it was in Orchha territory. After this Diwān Bahādur Gambhīr Singh with a large body of Thakurs plundered Kalyānpūra,³ and was only persuaded not to advance to Lalitpur by a handsome present from the bankers of that town. Diwān Bahādur accordingly left Lalitpur and marched north encamping on the bank of the Kherār nadi at Burenro,⁴ near Jakhora. A detachment of one company of foot, one of artillery and one of cavalry arrived at Sirsi.⁵ Diwān Bahādur Singh met them at the head of 1,000 foot. As soon as Mardan Singh heard of this he went to his assistance, and by two hours after sunrise Sindhia's force was defeated and fled into Sirsi. The Bundela army went to Tālbehāt, and attacked the fort, cannonading continuing day and night. But when Sindhia's force from Lalitpur had joined that from Sirsi and both pressed the Bundelas, they left Tālbehāt and retired to Bijrotha.⁶ At this time an order was received from the Agent to the Governor-General that fighting was to stop, and the matter to be left for the decision of the Supreme Government.

In 1812 Colonel Filose from Gwalior, the Mir Munshi from the Agency and Nanneju Thakur from Tehri met at Sindwāha,⁷ and there the Batota treaty was framed. Diwān Bahādur Gambhīr Singh and Kunwar Umrao Singh were allowed to retain possession of their previous shares. In 1838 the fort at Nanora which had been destroyed by the colonel, was rebuilt. In 1839 Diwān Bahādur Gambhīr Singh died, and was succeeded in the jagir in the same year on Chait B. 11 by his son Diwan Bijhe Bahādur Dalip Singh. He was a skilful rider, wise, a good scholar in the Shāstras, and devoted himself to the worship of Gopālji. He died at Banpūr in 1905 on Magh S. 11 (1849) and was succeeded by Diwān Bijhe Bahādur Mazbūt Singh (the author of this book). Till 1863 he was a child, but early in 1864 edited the Bind-prakāsh in Hindi, a book which contains extracts from all the Shāstras and Puranas, and which is of great use to scholars of the Veda. In 1865 he rebuilt the fort at Nanora, which had been destroyed by

¹ In Orchha, 4 miles N.-E. of Mahroni.

² 6 miles E. of Mahroni.

³ In pargana Lalitpur (Jhansi district) 8 miles E. of Lalitpur.

⁴ A small village on the Kherār Nadi 2 miles N. of Jakhora which is 17 miles N. N.-W. of Lalitpur.

⁵ 4 miles S. S.-E. of Jakhora.

⁶ See note 135.

⁷ 18 miles S.-E. of Lalitpur; there are here the tombs of some members of the family of Major Alexander, a French officer serving in Sindhia's army, and whose descendants held the neighbouring village of Jaria in jagir.

Sindhia's force. In 1868 he constructed a tank in Karrana¹ and more recently another smaller one in Gudūwal.² In 1874 he began a garden in Jākhlon which still exists, and which with God's help shall be improved. In 1876 he edited a manual named Nitchandar in very simple Hindi, which can be used by all religions.

¹ In Gwalior 6 miles S. of Chanderi.

² On the Betwa, 11 miles W. of Lalitpur.



Faqir Khayr-ud-Din Muhammad, the Historian of Shāh 'Ālam.—By
E. DENISON ROSS, PH.D.

Our information with regard to the historian Faqir Khayr-ud-Din Muḥammad Ilābābādī is principally derived from what he himself tells us in the course of his works. Of these, so far as I am aware, three only have hitherto been known to scholars, namely: 1. The *'Ibrat-Nāma*, or "Book of Warning" described in Rieu's Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum, Vol. III, p. 946, and in Sir H. Elliot's History of India, Vol. VIII, pp. 237-254. 2. The *Jaunpūr-Nāma*, a History of Jaunpūr, described by Rieu *loc. cit.* Vol. I, p. 311; 3. The *Bahvant-Nāma*, described by Sir H. Elliot *loc. cit.* Vol. VIII, p. 416, which is another title for the *Tuḥfa-i-Tāza*, translated, by F. Curwen and printed by the Allahabad Government Press, 1875. Of the first of these works the late Dr. Chas. Rieu wrote as follows: "The *'Ibrat-Nāma* is the fullest and most accurate account we possess of the chequered career and troubled times of Shāh 'Ālam, and it has all the value of contemporary record, penned by one who had taken an active share in some of the principal transactions of the period, and was personally acquainted with the most prominent actors on the scene."

The *Jaunpūr-Nāma* contains the history of the town of Jaunpūr from the middle of the 14th century down to the time of Akbar. It was written for Mr. Abraham Willard, as was also the *Tuḥfa-i-Tāza* (or *Bahvant-Nāma*), which contains an account of the Rājas of Benares.

The details concerning their author which we derive from these works are very meagre, and only cover a period of about eight years. There is, however, another work by Faqir Khayr-ud-Din in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal which throws much new light on the author and his personality. This little book, which only comprises 45 folios, is called by the vague title of *Tazkirat-ul-'Ulama* or "Lives of the Learned" and is divided into three *faṣls* and a *khātima*.

Faṣl I. Contains a short sketch of the history of Jaunpūr.

Faṣl II. Notices of eminent men. This section contains quotations from such well-known works as the *Tārīkh-i-Firūz-shāhī* and the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*.

Faṣl III. An account of the Foundation of the Madrasah of Jaunpūr, and the methods adopted for bringing together in that city students and scholars.

Khātima. Concerning the author.

It is this *Khātima* or "conclusion" which contains the fresh light on our author to which I have referred, and which forms the staple of the present article. In it Khayr-ud-Din also gives a complete list of his works up to the time of writing, that is A.D. 1801 (A.H. 1216). The list is a long one, amounting to upwards of 30 works, and concerning most branches of Mohammedan lore. It is strange that so few of them should have reached posterity. Of all these works, the one whose disappearance (or perhaps non-appearance, for he speaks of it as incomplete) is to be most regretted is the *Kitāb-i-'Ālam-Ashūb*, "A History of Hindustan from the time of the advent of the great King of Iran down to the time of Amir-ul-Umara Mirzā Najaf Khān."

I have decided to print the text of this *Khātima* and in this place merely to sum up the principal events in the author's career which are to be derived from the available sources above enumerated.

Faqir Khayr-ud-Din Muḥammad was born in Allahabad in A.D. 1751. He began his studies at the age of eleven, and completed his course in five years, under the instruction of Sayyid Muḥammad Husayn Mūsavī of Aurangābād, who was held in the highest esteem, we are told, by rich and poor in Allahabad. In A.D. 1771 his master died, and Khayr-ud-Din proceeded to Jaunpūr to study under Maulana Muḥammad 'Askarī, with whom he read many works. In Jaunpūr he also gave lessons and began at his time to write books. At the end of sixteen months he returned to Allahabad, where he began to teach in his own Madrasah. Shortly after this, however, in A.D. 1772, the district of Allahabad was placed by the "Great Sahibs," under the charge of Nawwāb Shujā'-ud-Dawla, who confiscated the stipends and endowments of all teachers and shaykhs: and Khayr-ud-Din was consequently compelled to close his Madrasah. He threw himself on the mercy of the "Great Sahibs" who took him into their employ and charged him with important duties. The next twenty years of his life he seems to have spent partly in the service of Shāh 'Ālam, partly in the employ of various English and native officials, and partly in teaching in Allahabad or Benares. In 1783-4 we find him employed as confidential agent by Mr. James Anderson, the British Resident in the camp

of Scindhia. In 1785, owing to a severe illness, he took leave of Mr. Anderson and returned to Allahabad. "He then attached himself to the fortunes of the Shāhzāda Jahāndār Shāh, the eldest son of Shāh-jahān, whom he assisted in his attempt to seize upon the Delhi Government, and by whom he was treated, according to his own statement, as the most trusted friend and adviser."¹

In A.D. 1787 he proceeded to Lucknow: and after some time again returned to Allahabad. In 1793 his then master, Mr. Trevis, was appointed Judge of Jaunpūr, and Khayr-ud-Din accompanied him thither. After few months, however, Mr. Trevis was transferred to the Appellate Court at Benares, and was succeeded in Jaunpūr by Mr. Abraham Willard, whose service Khayr-ud-Din now entered. There is, however, a discrepancy in the dates here, for the *Jaunpūr-Nāma* says that Mr. Willard was appointed in 1796, whereas according to the *Tazkirat-ul-'Ulama* he must have succeeded to the Judgeship of Jaunpūr in 1793 or 1794.

Khayr-ud-Din spent the last years of his life in Jaunpūr, in the enjoyment of a Government Pension granted in recognition of his faithful services in negotiation with the Mahrattas.

He died about the year A.D. 1827.

The following is the complete text of the *Khātima*:—

خاتمه در سده از سرگذشت مؤلف ذرّه بیمقدار فقیر خیرالدین محمد بذاریخ دوازدهم ماه صفر سنه یکهزار یکصد شصت و پنج هجری در بلدۀ الہ آباد لباس هستی پوشیدہ در سنه یازده سالگی سرشتہ تحصیل علوم بدست آورد کتب درسی از ہدایت تانہایت دیعمرہ پنج سال در حلقہ دانش افضل الفضلی اکمل الکملی سید محمد حسین موسوی اورنگ آبادی کہ در شہر الہ آباد مسجد خلّاق و مرجع شاہ و گدا بود گذرانید و بحضور آنجناب بتدریس طالبان علوم مشغول شد چون در ماہ ذی حجہ سنہ یکہزار یکصد ہشتاد و پنجم آنحضرت فوت کرد در خود یاری استقامت شہر الہ آباد نداشت ستایش فضل و کمال مولانا محمد عسکری جونپوری و مہارت و معرفت وی در علم بلاغت شنیدہ دیوانہوار در عین برشکال عازم جونپور شد و زیادہ از شنیدہ دیدہ کتب فرائد بلاغت تصنیف مالک محمود جونپوری و شرح چغنی علم ہیئتہ زان حضوت اکتساب نمود و مسلم الامول را از خدمت مولانا ابوالخیر خلف مفتی ثناء اللہ استفادہ کرد و در جونپور نیز بتدریس طالبان و تصنیف کتب مشغول بود بعد انتضای شانزدہ ماہ از جونپور بالہ آباد مراجعت کرد و در مدرسہ خود نشستہ بتعلیم طلبہ علوم پرداخت چون در سنہ یک ہزار یک صد ہشتاد و شش ہجری صوبہ

¹ *Bien loc. cit.* Vol. III, p. 946, from the *'Ibrat-Nāma*.

قله آباد از طرف صاحبان عالیشان بکار پیودان نواب شیخ الدوله مقرر شده بود و خود معاش مدرسان و مشائخان الہ آباد را نیز ضبط فرمود طالبان علم مدرسه این فقیر بسبب تنگی معاش برخاستند فقیر نیز باستصواب خود بعزم رفاقت صاحبان و در شناس بی اندیشه زاد از مدرسه برخاست و فیضها از رفاقت صاحبان عالی شان ابوداشت ثروت و جاه بسیار یافت و بکارهای عمده مامور شد و از کجا بکجا رسید و چہا چہا دید مدتی ہم نشین شاه عالم بادشاہ و نواب آصف الدوله وزیر الممالک مرحوم بود نواب وزیر مغفور تولیت امام بازو کلان و تدریس مدرسه نو ساخت برای این فقیر تجویز نمود و بکمال خواهش از الہ آباد بلکنوہ بود از نفاق بعضی مشیرانش اتفاق نشد آخر الامر هوای تدریس در دل این فقیر پیچید سالہ چند در الہ آباد و بنارس بتدریس پرداخت آخر الامر در سنہ یکہزار و صد و نہ ہجری در ہر چہا سرکار عدالت ہندوستانیان موقوف گردید و صاحبان عالیشان چہ و رجستر مقرر شدند مستر ثرویس کہ چہ چونپور شدہ بود بسبب توسلی کہ این فقیر از مرگ بخدمت او داشت ہمراہ چونپور آورد بعد چند ماہ او در اپیل بنارس رفت و بجای او مستر ولند چہ چونپور شدند بملاحظہ قدر دانیہا سایہ نمط دنبال آن خورشید خصال گرفت و بامید آنکہ * ع * شاید شب ما ہم سحری داشته باشد * رفاقت او را سرمایہ رفعت و عزت خود در وقت الحمد للہ کہ شب انتظار این فقیر بہ پایان رسیدہ و صبح اقبال از افق طالع مدیدہ نوید قدوم مالک الماک دریا دل ابر نوال خدایند چاہ و جلال گورنر جنرل لارڈ مارکوئس لایق ماونک تین بہادر دام اقبالہ دل را بالی و زبان را نیرو پدید آورد * بیت *

آہن چو بیارس آشنا شد فی الحال بصورت طلا شد
خورشید نظر چو کرد بر سنگ تحقیق کہ لعل بی بہا شد

این فقیر تا حال تصانیف بسیار نمودہ و جناب اقدس قبول خاطرہا بخشیدہ چنانچہ در علم صوف فرائد حسن و مباحث حسن و در علم نحو فرائد النحو و فوائد الحسن و مصطلحات النحو و حاشیہ بر شرح ملا و در علم منطق شرح تہذیب و شرح تصورات مسلم و در علم حکمت فلسفی جواهر و زواہر متن و شرح آن نقد الجواهر در عبارت عربی و ترجمہ آن در عبارت فارسی و مقدمات اربعہ در تحقیق مسئلہ علم و مسئلہ جعل و مسئلہ ربط حادث بالقدیم و مسئلہ جبر و اختیار بکمال خوبی و تازگی بقلم آورد و در علم بلاغت ملخص و شرح آن نقد البلاغت در عبارت عربی رنگین و صاف و شواہد البلاغت شرح ابیات عربیہ در غایت توضیح قلبی ساخت و در فقہ و فرائض کتاب خیر المسائل و منہج الفرائض و در علم حدیث خیر المسائل و در علم کلام نقد الکلام و در علم عقائد کتاب علم الہدا و کتاب خیر الوسائل و وسیلۃ النجات و مظهر الغرائب و عین الایمان تالیف نمود کتاب عین الایمان را

بقومایش خواجه عین الدین که از عهده ناظمین ممالک محروسه وزیر الممالک بود نوشته او بکربلای معلی فوئداد علمای آن مکان پسند نمودند و چند سطر در تعریف آن بطرز شهادت نگاشتند و کتاب خوراق قادریه حسب خواهش حضرت شاه عالم بادشاه در عبارت فارسی تالیف نمودم و در صله آن شقه بدستخط خاص و رعایت اعزاز و احترام باین فقیر رسید و رساله برهان امامت و لطائف الابرار حسب قومایش نواب وزیر نواب آصف الدوله موصوم تالیف نمودم در جائزه برهان امامت نواب وزیر الممالک موصوم پنجاه و دو پیله باین فقیر بخشید و این رساله بسبب حسن قبول در تمام دیار هندوستان مشهور گردید کتاب مجالس المؤمنین میونوالله شوستری را که کم از دوصد جزو کلان نباشد در یک ماه بعبارت فارسی صاف انتخاب نمود و خیرالمجالس نام نهاد و رساله نادر دلپسند در علم تهذیب الاخلاق آنچنان نوشت که یک لفظ عربی بافرازد و ترکیب دران یافته نمی شود و در علم تاریخ و سیر کتاب سرایستان مشتمل بر عجائب حکایات عدالت و شجاعت و تدبیر سلاطین هندوستان در عبارت فارسی و کتاب گلزار اسرار در لطائف و آداب فقرای این دیار نوشت و کتاب عالم آشوب مشتمل بر سوانح تمام ممالک محروسه هندوستان از سال ورود بادشاه قهرمان ایران تا وفات امیر الامرا مرزا نجف خان بعبارت رنگین تالیف نمود هنوز این کتاب باختتام نرسیده موقوف بر خواهش خداوند است و کتاب عبرت نامه در احوال سلطنت شاه عام و کوائف مختاران سلطنت او و آغاز و انجام هر یکی و جزای بد کرداری که غلام قادر خان یافت تصنیف کرد و کتاب جونپور نامه و کتاب تحفه تازه مشتمل بر حالات ناظمین بنارس و راجهای آن تا خراج چیت سنگه و بندوبست جدید که کار پردازان سرکار کمپنی انگریز بهادر حسب الحکم نواب گورنر جنرل بظهور آورده بقومایش مستر ابرهم ولند بهادر چیچ ضلع جونپور بسک تحریر کشیده و کتاب گوالیار نامه مشتمل بر حالات راجهای آن ضلع و استحکام و ارتفاع چهار گوالیار و کار نامه که پیچربوس در تسخیر آن بظهور آورده در چهار تالیف در آورد و سوای آن دیگر کتب و رسائل که بقومایش صاحبان عالی شان تصنیف کرده تفصیل آن معمول بر خود ستائی می شود این قدر هم برای آن نوشت نا ظاهر گردد که این بیمه دار نیز لیاقت در آمدن در حلقه علما دارد و بهره از علوم و فنون حاصل کرده است و الا مشک آنست که خود بگوید نه که عطار وصف آن گوید آمید از جاب اقدس آن دارد که چون در سایه غذایات خداوند جهان و جهانیان امیر ممالک محروسه هندوستان زبده نو آیینان عظیم الشان دام اقباله چندی نیاماید و با طوطیان چمن بلاغت طرح همراهی اندازد تصنیفات و تالیفات خود را بذکر جمایش بیاورد و فضائل و حسنات آن ذوالفضل و الاحسان را زنده جاوید گرداند *

بسا کاخا که محمودش بنا کرد که از رفعت همین نامه مرا کرد
نه بینی زان همه یک خشک بر جای بنائی عنصري مانده است بر پای
محبیب الدعوات این والی الملک حامی الفضل را پیوسته در حفظ و حمایت خود
داشته فرمان روای برو بخود دارد و تمامی ممالک محروسه هندوستان را از لوی
حکومت و بیاراید موالیان در دولتش مقبول و مدعیان بارگاه عالیش منکوب
و مخدول باشند *

* بیت •
سخن بمدح تو آراستن غرض این است که پیش اهل خرد منصبی بود ما را
و گونه منقبت آفتاب مشهور است چه حاجت است بمشاطه روی زیبا را
باستصواب و استمزاز قدر دان سخن و قدر شناس جوهر هرفن مستر ابوهیم و لند جم
ضلع جونپور این فقیه طبع آزمائی کرد و این عجائب حالات را از کتب سلف در عرصه
قلیله بر آورده بتاریخ بست پنجم ماه ستمبر سنه یکهزار هشتصد یک عیسوی مطابق
پانزدهم ماه جمادی الاولی سنه یک هزار دوصد شانزده هجری در حیث تحریر آورد مسبب
الاسباب تاثیر قبول بخشد و مقبول طبع شریف خداوند جهانپایان سازد *

The Licchavi race of ancient India.—By SATIS CHANDRA VIDYĀBHŪṢAṆA,
M.A., M.R.A.S.

Since time immemorial, India has been hospitable to foreign races. In the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas we read of warlike races entering India from outside, getting admittance into Hindu Society, and being absorbed in one or other of the four great castes of the Indian people. In this paper, I shall give an account of a race that came into our country, in about the 8th century B.C., and gradually identified itself with the Kṣatriya or military caste of Northern India. This race is called Licchavi. The Pali chroniclers have so designated it. In the Brahmanic Sanskrit works the race has been called Nicchivi. The Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra¹ of the Northern Buddhists designates it as Lit-savi. In the ancient inscriptions the variant form Licchivi is found sometimes to have been used, while the Tibetan authors have occasionally named it as Li-tsa-byi.

In the well-known Hindu Socio-religious institute called Manusmṛiti, the Nicchivis have been reckoned among the Vrātya Kṣatriyas. Manu says: ² "From the Vrātya Kṣatriyas are born the following, viz.: Jhalla, Malla, Nicchivi, Nāṭa, Karaṇa, Khasa and Draviḍa."

Now let us examine the meaning of the word Vrātya used by Manu. The word Vrātya has been defined in the Hindu śāstras as signifying one who has lost caste through non-observance of the ten principal Hindu ceremonies (saṃskāras) especially of investiture with the sacred thread. This definition of the word Vrātya shows that the Licchavis, though included in the Kṣatriya caste, did not in the time of Manu wear sacred threads nor observe any of the ten principal rites enjoined in the Brāhmanic śāstras. In fact they were even then regarded as foreigners, and as such did not conform themselves to the rules of Hindu

¹ Suvarṇa-prabhāsa Sūtra, chap II.

² Manusmṛiti, chap. X, verse 22.

Society. They were however even then regarded as a respectable people. In the Jātaka¹ of the Sutta-piṭaka, which is a most ancient Pali canonical work of the Buddhists, we read of a barber's son, who desired to marry a Licchavi girl, but was severely reproached by his father for setting his mind on such forbidden fruit as a high-born lady of the Licchavis.

Sanang Setsen, in his history of the Eastern Mongols, says that the Śākya race was divided into three sections, *viz.*, Śākya the great, Śākya the Licchavi, and Śākya the mountaineer. Alexander Csoma de Koros has recorded the same triple division of the Śākya race from Tibetan sources, and has said that Śākya is identical with Scythian. The Licchavis must on this supposition be regarded as a branch of the Scythian race.

Samuel Beal² observes that the scene found at Sānchi (in the Bhupal State) probably refers to the Stūpa raised by the Licchavis over their share of the relics of Buddha. The appearance of the men shows they were a northern race; their hair and flowing hair-bands and musical instruments agree, according to Beal, with the account given of the people of Ku-che. It is stated both in the Pali and Northern Buddhist books that the Licchavis were distinguished for their bright-coloured and variegated dresses and equipages. All the evidence seems, in the opinion of Beal, to point to these people being a branch of the Yue-chi.

I am inclined to believe that the Licchavis came into India immediately from Nisibis, which was, according to Ptolemy, one of the most notable towns of Aria (near modern Herat). In the Manusamhitā the Licchavis are called Nicchibis which, in my opinion, correspond exactly to the Nisibis³ of Ptolemy. The northern parts of Aria were, according to him, possessed by a people called Nisaioi or Nisibi. I further suppose that the same race has been called by Arrian as Nysaioi. Arrian⁴ observes that the Nysaioi were not an Indian race but descendants of those who came into India with Dionysos. The district in which he planted his colony he named Nysaia, after Mount Nysa, and the city itself Nysa. These stories about Dionysos are of course but fictions of the poets. Nysa the so-called birth-place of the wine-god has, however, been identified by M. de St. Martin with the existing village called Nysatta on the northern bank of the rivers of Kabul. Wilson identifies it with, Nissa north of Elburz mountains, between Asterabad and Meshd.

¹ Sigāla Jātaka of the Pali Jātaka, edited by Dr. Fausboll, Vol. II.

² Beal's Buddhistic Records, Vol. II, p. 67.

³ McCrindle's Ptolemy, pp. 263, 267, 306, 308, 309, 324, 328.

⁴ McCrindle's Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian, pp. 178-79.

This place, he adds, ought to be of Median or Persian foundation, since the nomenclature is Iranian, the name of Nysa or Nisaya, which figures in the cosmogonic geography of the Zend Avesta, being one which is far spread in the countries of ancient Iran. Megasthenes in the 4th century B.C. found in India a race called Nesei. This, I believe, was the same as Nicchibi or Licchavi.

Looking at the celebrated canonical Pali scripture, called Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta, supposed to have been rehearsed in the first Buddhist council in 543 B.C., we obtain an interesting account of the Licchavis and seven other cognate clans, unitedly called Vajjis. The Licchavis are there represented as living in Vaiśālī corresponding to the modern village of Besārh, in the Muzaffarpur district. In the first chapter of the work, we find that the great Monarch Ajāta-çatru, of Magadha, (Behar), the then paramount ruler of India, builds a fort at Pāṭali-grāma and sends two of his Brāhmaṇa ministers to consult Buddha, as to the feasibility of subduing or driving out the Licchavis and other Vajjian tribes. Buddha replies to them, saying that so long as the several clans of the Vajjis remained united, they would be invincible. However, in the course of three years (*i.e.*, in 540 B.C.) the aforesaid monarch, Ajāta-çatru, brought about such a disunion among the several clans that they became very easily conquered. In chap. VI of the afore-mentioned Mahāparinibbāna Sutta we find the Licchavis claiming and actually receiving one-eighth part of the relics of Buddha's body. It was in 543 B.C. that Buddha entered Nirvāṇa, and it was in the same year that the relics of his body became distributed among the Licchavis of Vaiśālī, Mallas of Kusinagara, and others. One of the most interesting facts to be noticed in connection with this episode is that the Licchavis are described there as claiming Kṣatriyaship. They are stated there as sending messengers to Kusinārā, saying: "Bhagavān Buddha was a Kṣatriya, we, too, are Kṣatriyas, so we, too, deserve a part of the relics of Bhagavān's body." Another interesting fact to be noticed is that the Licchavis had, at the time, a republican form of government; they had then no kings, but simply obeyed the orders of their elders.

In the Mahāvamsa, the well-known Pāli chronicle of Ceylon, compiled in 431 A.D., we find the descendants of the aforesaid Ajāta-çatru reigning in Magadha up to the year 471 B.C. It was in this year that a member of the Licchavi race was installed in the sovereignty of Magadha. It is a curious fact, of Indian history, that the Licchavis, who were looked down as outcastes up to the year 540 B.C., succeeded, so soon as in 471 B.C., to see one of their members elected monarch in

the capital city of Magadha. In spite of all efforts on the part of Ajāta-ṣatru and his successors, against the Licchavis, the latter held their own in India, and succeeded in securing the good feelings of the people here. This member of the Licchavi race, who was elected sovereign over Magadha, is named Siśunāga, the founder of a dynasty called Siśunāga. He is stated in the Mahāvamsa to have at first been Prime-minister to King Nāga-dāsaka, the last royal descendant of Ajāta-ṣatru. There are several atthakathās, or Pali commentaries, on the Mahāvamsa preserved in the ancient monasteries of Ceylon. In the atthakathā of the priests of the Uttara-Vihāra of Anurādhapura it is recorded that Siśunāga was a great statesman, and belonged to a very respectable family of the Licchavis. He reigned in Magadha for eighteen years. His son Kālāsoka reigned twenty-eight years. Kālāsoka had ten sons, who ruled the empire for twenty-two years. It was during the conjoint administration of the sons of Kālāsoka that the Nanda dynasty became powerful in India, and usurped the sovereignty of Magadha. This is a very brief account of the Siśunāga dynasty, supplied by the celebrated Pāli Mahāvamsa of Ceylon. The Viṣṇupurāṇa of the Hindus gives a slightly different account. We have found that, according to the Mahāvamsa, the Siśunāga kings reigned for only 68 years, from 471 B.C. to 403 B.C. But according to the Viṣṇupurāṇa (Book IV, Chap. XXIV) they ruled over Magadha for 362 years, beginning their reigns a little earlier than at the date fixed by the Mahāvamsa. It is scarcely desirable to enter here into any controversy on the subject, but I must say that though the members of the Licchavi race exercised sovereignty over Magadha for a short period only, they left a distinguishable mark in the religious and political history of India. In the Manu-Saṃhitā we have seen that the Licchavis did

The Licchavis leaving a distinguishable mark in the religious history of India.

not strictly observe the Brahmanic rites. The Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, on the other hand, describes them as devotees to Buddha and his religion. In the well-known Divyāvadāna (Chaps. III and XI) of the Buddhists of the Northern School we find the Licchavis faithfully serving Buddha on special occasions. In the Cullavagga of the Vinaya-piṭaka, and in the Mahāvamsa, we find that, though followers of Buddha, they did not observe the Buddhist discipline to the letter. It was they who in 443 B.C., having declared some ten indulgences as being allowable to priesthood, brought about the first schism in the Buddhist Church known as the Mahāsanghī heresy. Ten thousand Licchavi priests received on this occasion the penalty of degradation. In spite of all these, we must acknowledge the Licchavis to be the wisest and most learned representatives of the Buddhist

community of old. In the celebrated canonical Pali scripture, called *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (Book III) we read of two Licchavi youths named Abhaya and Paṇḍita-Kumāraka holding very high metaphysical discussions with Ānanda, while in the *Mahāvamsa* (Chap. XCIX) the Licchavi princes of Vaiśālī are mentioned as being the typical examples of those who live in peace and harmony. The famous Buddhaghosa of the 5th century A.D., in his Pāli commentary on the *Dhammapada* (Chap. XVI, verse 7); cites an anecdote in which Buddha is made to hold a very high spiritual conversation with the Licchavi priests of Vaiśālī.

The political influence which the Licchavis attained in India did not cease with the termination of their sovereignty in Magadha. It is true they were succeeded by kings of the Nanda dynasty, but the people continued to respect them as rulers. The Buddhist works, of both the Northern and Southern Schools, have uniformly designated them as Kumāras, *Kumāra* being a hereditary title of the Licchavis. Now the word *Kumāra* is a synonym for Rāja-putra and signifies a prince. In the Gaya copperplate Inscription of Samudra-Gupta, we find that, in about 320 B.C., the celebrated Indian emperor, Chandra Gupta, married Kumāra-devī, who was daughter of a Licchavi prince.¹ "That the Licchavis were then at least of equal rank and power with the early Guptas is shown by the pride in this alliance manifested by the latter."

It is curious that kings of Nepal, Tibet, Ladak and Mongolia, too, trace their descent from the Licchavis. In accordance with the *Vaṃśāvalī* of Nepal, and the inscriptions published in the *Indian Antiquary* (Vols. IX, XIII, and XIV), we find that the Licchavis gradually attained such a great power and honour in Nepal that they became regarded there as a branch of the Surya-vaṃśa or solar race. The Nepal kings carry their descent from the sun and come down to Daśaratha. After Daśaratha there are said to have been eight kings in lineal succession, and then there was the illustrious Licchavi. After Licchavi there were some kings and then was born the illustrious king Supuṣpa. The 24th in descent from him was Jaya-deva I, who has been treated by Bhagavan Lal Indraji as the first historical member of the Licchavi family and the founder of the Nepal branch of it. After Jaya-deva I there were eleven kings and then came Vṛṣa-deva, Saṃkara-deva, Dharmā-deva, Māna-deva, Mahi-deva, and Vasanta-deva. It is unnecessary to enumerate here the numerous kings who succeeded Vasanta-deva.

The Nepal branch of the Licchavi race.

¹ Dr. Fleet, *Inscriptions of the early Gupta Kings*, p. 256.

But it is essential to state here that all the kings, succeeding Jaya-deva I, belonged to the Licchavi race. Jayadeva I reigned in Nepal about 330-355 A.D. There was intermarriage existing among the Licchavi families of Nepal and the ruling families of Magadha, Gauḍa, etc. The inscriptions present us with several instances of double government in Nepal. Thus Amṇu-varma and Vṛṣa-deva were simultaneously ruling in two different places of Nepal. Amṇu-varma, who, according to the Chinese pilgrim, Hwen-thsang, belonged to the Licchavi race, reigned in Nepal 635-650 A.D. That the Licchavi tribe was one of great antiquity and power, in the direction of Nepal, is shown by the writings of Fa-hian and Hwen-thsang, which connect them with events that preceded the Nirvāṇa of Buddha. The Licchavi conquest of Nepal is assigned to Newarit, whose age is unknown. Nothing need be said here about the Licchavi rulers of Nepal descending from the sun. All the powerful rulers of India have claimed their descent from either of the two mythical personages named the Sun and the Moon. I consider Sūrya-varṃśa and Candra-varṃśa as terms of compliment, which were rightly bestowed on the ruling families of India and outside. If there is any honour indicated by the term Sūrya-varṃśa, that honour was pre-eminently deserved by the Licchavi rulers of India and Nepal, and it is not at all surprising that they actually received it.

The first king in Tibet was Nya-khri-tsan-po who, according to the Tibetan books, belonged to the Licchavi race.

The Tibet branch of the Licchavi race. The 27th in descent from him was Lha-tho-tho-ri, and the 32nd was Sṛaṇ-tsan-gam-po. This last King, who reigned in Tibet, in 627 A.D., had two principal wives—one being taken from China and the other being the daughter of Amśu-varma, the Licchavi king of Nepal.

The rulers of Mongolia and Ladak do likewise claim descent from the Licchavi race. But so many changes have taken place in the ruling families of Nepal, Tibet, Mongolia, Ladak, etc., that it is at present impossible to trace unmixed Licchavi blood in the people of those countries.

Nothing is definitely known to us of the fates of the Indian branch of the Licchavi race that lived in the early centuries of Christ. With the revival of Brahmanism in India, in the 7th century

The Indian branch of the Licchavi race. A.D., there occurred a thorough re-organization of ancient castes. The Licchavi kingdom of Vaiśālī began probably to accept Brahmanism at this time, and we are not surprised to read the records of Chinese pilgrims (such as those of Hwen-thsang), who say that in the 7th century A.D., Buddhism was on its decline in Vaiśālī and heretical doctrines

were much prevailing there. Since the 7th century A.D. there have taken place in India so many reconstructions of the ancient castes, made partly on the principle of ethnological, partly philological, partly socio-religious and partly political and other divisions that it is at present impossible to discover a single drop of Licchavi blood in India, without the help of chemical analysis. It has already been said that Vaiśālī, in which the Licchavis lived in ancient days, corresponds to modern Basārh in the Muzaffarpur district. They gradually dispersed over different places in the districts of Goruckpore, Shahabad, Champaron, etc. It is therefore not altogether improbable that some of the people of the military caste of these districts may bear some remote relationship to the Licchavis of old. Writers of Indian history have not yet made even mention of the Licchavi race in their respective works. The present paper of mine, though extremely meagre, will, I hope, serve to draw the attention of scholars to the investigation of the history of this once most powerful race of India.

The Vrātya and Saṃkara Theories of Caste.—By SATIS CHANDRA VIDYĀ-
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No institution has exercised a greater influence upon the interests of mankind than that of caste. There was caste among the Egyptians, Colchians, Iberians, Medes, Persians and Etrureans; and in the New World it was found among the Peruvians and Mexicans. It existed among the earliest Attic tribes and Spartans whose trades and occupations were almost all hereditary. The laws of caste also prevailed among the Saxons. It is, however, in India that the caste system has reached its highest development, while in most other countries it has gradually ceased to exist. In India there is a permanent separation of classes with hereditary professions assigned to each, and the most ancient documents regarding the origin of caste are to be found here. As the subject is being scientifically investigated by the Director of Indian Ethnography, I shall in the following pages give only a very brief outline of Vrātya and Saṃkara castes making only an incidental mention of the original castes.

I. ORIGINAL CASTES.

According the Hindu Gāstras, castes may be classified as (1) mūla (original), (2) vrātya (fallen), and (3) saṃkara (mixed). In India there are four original castes, viz. : Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiçya, and Çūdra. Manu* says :—

“The Brāhmaṇa, the Kṣatriya, and the Vaiçya castes are the twice-born ones, but the fourth, the Çūdra, has one birth only; there is no fifth caste.”

The duties enjoined on the four castes are thus stated by Vaçiṣṭha† :—

* ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रियो वैश्यस्तयो वर्णा द्विजातयः ।

चतुर्थं एकजातिस्तु शूद्रो नास्ति तु पञ्चमः ॥ (मनुसंहिता १० । १) ॥

† षट्कर्मणि ब्राह्मणस्य अध्ययनमध्यापनं यजनं याजनं दानं प्रतिग्रहश्चेति ।

“The Brāhmaṇa must study, teach, offer sacrifice, act as a priest, and give and accept gifts. The Kṣatriya should study, offer sacrifice, give gifts, and govern and protect people. The Vaiçya should study, offer sacrifice, give gifts and should cultivate lands, conduct trade, tend cattle and may adopt the profession of usury. The Çūdra should only serve the aforementioned three castes.”

According to the Rigveda* these castes sprang from Brahma the Supreme Being, in the following way :—

“The Brāhmaṇa was his mouth, the arms were made Kṣatriya, his thighs were what is called Vaiçya, and the Çūdra sprang from his legs.”

Seven Dvīpas.

These four castes existed in six out of the seven dvīpas that were known to the ancient Hindus. In the Viṣṇupurāṇa † we read :—

त्रीणि राजन्यस्य अथ्ययनं यजनं दानं शास्त्रेण प्रजापालनं स्वधर्मस्तेन जीवेत् ।
एतान्येव त्रीणि वैश्यस्य क्षमिवाणिज्यपाशुपाल्यकुसीदश्च । एतेषां परिचर्या
शूद्रस्य ॥ (वशिष्ठ संहिता, २५ अध्यायः) ॥

* ब्राह्मणोऽस्य मुखमासीत्

बाह्व राजन्यद्वतः ।

ऊरू तदस्य यद् वैश्यः

पद्मां शूद्रोऽजायत ॥ (ऋग्वेद १० । ६० । १२) ॥

† जम्बू-द्वीपः ।

ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्या मध्ये शूद्राश्च भागशः ।

इज्या-युद्ध-वणिज्याद्यैर्वर्तयन्तो व्यवस्थिताः ॥ (विष्णुपुराण २ । ३ । ६) ॥

ज्ञान-द्वीपः ।

आर्यकाः कुरवश्चैव विविंशा भाविनश्च ये ।

विप्र-क्षत्रिय-वैश्यास्ते शूद्राश्च मुनिस्ततम ॥ (विष्णुपुराण २ । ३ । १७) ॥

शालमल-द्वीपः ।

कमिलाश्चारणाः पीताः क्षणाश्चैव पृथक् पृथक् ।

ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्याः शूद्राश्चैव यजन्ति तम् ॥ (विष्णुपुराण २ । ४ । ३१) ॥

कुश-द्वीपः ।

रमिणः शुभिणः खेहा मन्देहाश्च महासुने ।

“In Jambu-dvīpa (India) there live Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiçya, and Çūdra. In Plakṣa-dvīpa these four castes are named, respectively, Ārya, Kuru, Vivim̐ça, and Bhāvin. In Çālmala-dvīpa they are designated as Kapila, Aruṇa, Pita, and Kṛṣṇa respectively. In Kuça-dvīpa they are called, respectively, Damin, Çuṣmin, Sneha, and Maudeha. The Puṣkara, Puṣkala, Dhanya, and Tiṣpa castes (that represent, respectively, the Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiçya, and Çūdra) inhabit the dvīpa called Krauñca. In Çāka-dvīpa the Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiçya, and Çūdra are, respectively, named as Maga, Maçaka, Mānasa, and Mandaga. In the seventh, called Puṣkara-dvīpa, there is no superiority or inferiority among men.”

Ārya.—In the above we have found that the Brāhmaṇas called *Āryas* lived in Plakṣa-dvīpa, probably identified with Ariana (the land of the Aarii). Aria (bounded on the north by Margiane and a part of Baktriane, on the west by Parthia and Karmanian desert, on the south by Drangiane, and on the west by Paropanisdai) was a small province included in Ariana, which comprehended nearly the whole of ancient Persia.

Damin, etc.—The Damins were the Brāhmaṇas of Kuça-dvīpa (probably identical with Serike mentioned by Greek writers and inhabited by Damnai and other tribes). Çālmala-dvīpa in which the Kapila Brāhmaṇas, and Krauñca-dvīpa in which the Puṣkara Brāhmaṇas lived cannot be identified with accuracy.

I do not know whether there is any particular class of Brāhmaṇas

ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्या शूद्राश्चानुक्रमोदिताः ॥ (विष्णुपुराण २।४।३६) ॥

क्रौञ्च-द्वीपः ।

पुष्कराः पुष्कला धन्यास्तिष्यास्तत्र महासुने ।

ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्याः शूद्राश्चानुक्रमोदिताः ॥ (विष्णुपुराण २।४।५३) ॥

शाक-द्वीपः ।

मगाश्च मशकाश्चैव मानसा मन्दगास्तथा ॥

मगा ब्राह्मणभूयिष्ठा मशकाः क्षत्रियास्तु ते ।

वैश्यास्तु मानसा ज्ञेयाः शूद्रास्तेषां तु मन्दगाः ॥ (विष्णुपुराण २।४।७०) ॥

पुष्कर-द्वीपः ।

सत्यान्ते न तच्चाक्षां नोत्तमाधममध्यमाः ।

न वर्णाधमधर्माश्च न नद्यो न च पर्वताः ॥ (कूर्मपुराण ४७ अः) ॥

that are specially designated as *Ārya* in India, and whether the *Aiyar* Brāhmaṇas of Madras have anything to do with the *Ārya* Brāhmaṇas of Plakṣa-dvīpa. The Kapila Brāhmaṇas that live in Surat, Broach, Jambusar, etc., cannot also with any degree of certainty be identified with the Brāhmaṇas of that name that lived in Çālmala-dvīpa. I have also got no document to identify the Poṣkaraṇa Brāhmaṇas of Marwar, Gujerat, Bikanir, Ramgarh, etc., with the ancient Puṣkara Brāhmaṇas of Krauñca-dvīpa. But fortunately for us the Maga Brāhmaṇas that lived in Çāka-dvīpa can, with a pretty accuracy, be identified with the Brāhmans of that name that live in Behar and other provinces of India.

Sāka-dvīpi Brāhmaṇa.

Maga was the name of the Brāhmaṇas of Çāka-dvīpa. In the Sām̐ba and Bhaviṣya Purāṇas the Magas are described as a class of Brāhmaṇas who descended from the disc of the Sun. In the Purāṇas* the name Maga is thus derived :—

“The blessed Sun-god is called Ma, and these Brāhmaṇas in virtue of their worshipping Ma are called Ma-ga.”

Regarding the origin of the Maga Brāhmaṇas we find in the Purāṇas (such as Sām̐ba and Bhaviṣya) an interesting story, the substance of which is given here : Priyavrata, son of Svāyambhuva Manu, was monarch over seven dvīpas. After his death his son Bhavya became king of Çāka-dvīpa. He constructed a golden image of the Sun and also built a temple for the idol. But as there were no Brāhmaṇas competent to consecrate the idol he prayed to the Sun-god himself for doing the work. Then the Sun became absorbed in deep meditation and eight Brāhmaṇas suddenly issued out of his body. Immediately after birth they addressed the Sun as father and devoted themselves to the study of the Vedas and Upanishads. Thereafter the Sun-god asked the king to make over the temple to the charge of these Brāhmaṇas, who became worshippers of the Sun. On account of their worshipping *Ma* (the Sun) they became styled *Ma-ga*.

Their migration to India is thus described : Once Sām̐ba, the son of Bhagavān Çri-Kṛṣṇa, became overtaken by leprosy. Finding no other means of averting the evil he approached Nārada and mournfully related to him the particulars of his disease. Nārada advised him to worship Mitra (the Sun). Accordingly he built a golden statue of the

* मकारो भगवान् देवो मास्तरः परिकीर्तितः ।

मकार-ध्यान-योगाच्च मगाह्येते प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ (साम्ब-पुराण २७ । २८ ।

भविष्यपुराण १४३ अ.) ।

Sun and a temple for it. He used to offer worship to the statue every day. By the grace of Mitra, Sāmba became cured of his leprosy. The place in which he worshipped the Sun was called Mitra-vana (the Sun-grove) in the Punjab. Then Sāmba became desirous of consecrating the temple and continuing worship of the Sun. Finding that the Brāhmaṇas in India were incompetent to do the work, Sāmba consulted with Nārada and Gaura-mukha about the matter. They advised him to bring Brāhmaṇas from Čāka-dvīpa for worship of the Sun. Accordingly, with the consent of his father, Sāmba proceeded to Čāka-dvīpa riding on Garuḍa. There were eighteen principal families of Maga in Čāka-dvīpa. At the earnest request of Sāmba, members of all these families came to Jambu-dvīpa (India) and settled in a city built by Sāmba called Sāmba-pura (Multan). The temple of the Sun was entrusted to them. They consecrated and offered daily worship to the statue. In the seventh century A.D., Hwen-tisang saw in Multan a magnificent temple with a golden statue of the Sun richly adorned, to which kings of all parts of India sent offerings. From Multan the Magas came to Magadha and gradually scattered themselves all over India. The celebrated astronomer, Varāhamihir, who was a Śāka-dvīpi Brāhmaṇa,* was one of the nine gems in the court of Vikramāditya.

Maga and Magi.

According to the celebrated Greek geographer Ptolemy† there lived in India in the second century A.D. a class of Brāhmaṇas called *Brakḥmanai Magoi*. The country occupied by these Brāhmaṇas was about the Upper Kaveri, and extended from Mount Bettigo eastward as far as the Batai. According to Mr. J. Campbell *Brakḥmanai Magoi* of Ptolemy meant 'sons of Brāhmaṇas,' that is, Canarese Brāhmans, whose forefathers married women of the country, the word *Magoi* representing the Canarese *Maga*, 'a son.' Lassen supposed that Ptolemy, by adding *Magoi* to the name of these Brāhmaṇas, meant to imply either that they were a colony of Persian priests settled in India, or that they were Brāhmaṇas who had adopted the tenets of the Magi; and expresses his surprise that Ptolemy should have been led into making such an unwarrantable supposition.

In my humble opinion the *Brakḥmanai Magoi* mentioned by Ptolemy were the same as the Maga Brāhmaṇas mentioned in the Purāṇas. The word *Magos* was a very honourable title, being equivalent to "Venerable"

* Vide Utpala's commentary on the *Vrihat-Saṃhita*, and also Dr. Kern's preface to his edition of the book.

† McCrindle's Ptolemy, p. 170.

or "Doctor." It was given by the Akkadians, the primitive inhabitants of Chaldea, to their wisemen, whose learning was chiefly in what we now call astrology and magical arts. The word is found in cuneiform inscriptions. It was adopted by the Semitic inhabitants of Babylon, and from them by the Medians, Persians, and Greeks. The question as to why the Brāhmins of Čāka-dvīpa were designated *Maga* has been and may still be answered in many different ways. Some scholars have identified the Čāka-dvīpi Brāhmins called *Maga* with the Median priesthood called *Magi*. I am inclined to suppose that the word *Maga* was a mere title of honour bestowed upon the Brāhmins of Čāka-dvīpa under circumstances purely political. It is known to most of us that the title *Majumdār* (or *Majmu-dār*) borne by some very respectable classes of the Hindus is a Mahomedan word (composed of Arabic *Majmu* and Persian suffix *dār*) signifying a record-keeper. I would in the same way believe that the Brāhmins in the north-western frontier of India got the designation *Maga* from the Persian or other foreign rulers.* It is a well-known fact that the Indian Brāhmins have been designated by Greek-writers as *Sophists*. Are not *Maga* and *Sophist* identical in meaning?

Position of Sāka-dvīpa.

Now it is necessary to add here a few words about the probable modern site of Čāka-dvīpa. Čāka-dvīpa may with pretty accuracy be identified with Sogdiana; at any rate the latter was included in the former. The river *Iksu*, that according to the Viṣṇupurāṇa (Book II Chapter IV) flowed through Čāka-dvīpa, is, in my opinion, identical with the *Oxus* that according to Ptolemy separated Sogdiana from Baktriana. The name Sogdiana† exists to this day, being preserved in Soghd, which designates the country lying along the river Kohik from Bokhara eastward to Samarkand. The records of Alexander's expedition give much information regarding this country, for the Macedonian troops were engaged for the better part of three years in effecting its subjugation.

The Mahābhārata‡ helps us in determining more exactly the site

* Referring to the Indian people living beyond the Indus, Arrian in his *Indika* (McCrindle p. 179) observes :—

"They were in old times subject to the Assyrians, then after a period of Median rule submitted to the Persians, and paid to Cyrus, the son of Cambyses, the tribute from their land which Cyrus had imposed."

† McCrindle's Ptolemy, p. 277.

‡ तत्र पुण्या जगदपदास्त्रवारो लोकसम्मताः ।

मृगाश्च मशकाश्चैव मानसा मन्दगास्तथा ॥ ४५ ॥

of the original home of the Māga Brāhmins. In the Bhīṣma-parva, Chapter XI, we find that in Čāka-dvīpa the Brāhmins lived in the province of Mriga (Mṛga), Kṣatriyas in Maśaka, Vaiçyas in Mānasa, and the Čūdras in Mandaga. Mriga mentioned in the Mahābhārata is undoubtedly a Sanskrit name for Margiane mentioned by Greek writers. Pliny says (lib. vi c. xvi) that Margiane was noted for its sunny skies and vines grew there in abundance. It lay confronting a tract of country in Parthia, in which Alexander had built Alexandria. The ancient city of Margiane * is represented by modern Merv.

Sāka-dvīpi Kṣatriya.

The province called *Maśaka* of Čāka-dvīpa, described in the Mahābhārata as inhabited by Kṣatriyas, was no doubt the same as *Maisoka* (in Hyrkania) mentioned by Ptolemy.†

The Kṣatriyas of Maśaka (in Čāka-dvīpa) referred probably to the Massagetai that lived in Margiana, Sogdiana and Sakai, etc. The Massagetai are mentioned by Herodotus (lib. i, c. cciiv.), who says that they inhabited a great portion of the vast plain that extended eastward from the Caspian. He then relates how Cyrus lost his life in a bloody fight against them and their queen Tomyris. Alexander came into collision with their wandering hordes during the campaign of Sogdiana as Arrian relates (Anab. lib. iv cc. xvi, xvii).

Antiquity of Sāka-dvīpa.

It should also be noted here that Marakand (मार्कण्ड), now called Samarakand, which was the metropolis of Sogdiana (Čāka-dvīpa), was

मृगा ब्राह्मणभूयिष्ठाः स्वकर्म्मनिरतास्तथा ।

मशकेषु तु राजन्या धार्मिकाः सर्वकामदाः ॥ ४६ ॥

मानसाश्च महाराज वैश्यधर्म्मोपजीविनः ।

सर्वकामसमायुक्ताः शूरा धर्म्मार्थनिश्चयाः ॥

शूराश्च मन्दगास्तत्र पुरुषा धर्म्मशीलिनः । ४७ ॥

(महाभारत, भीष्मपर्व, १११ अध्यायः) ॥

* McCrindle's Ptolemy, p. 264.

† Arrian in his Indika (second century A.D.) observes :—

"In the dominions of the Assakenoi there is a great city called Massaka (probably the same as Maisoka, Masaka, or Massoi), the seat of the sovereign power which controls the whole realm" (McCrindle, p. 180).

well known to the ancient Hindus. In the Vedic literature mention has been made of countries that lay even far off from Samarkand and Merv. In the *Rigveda* (7—18—19) we find mention of *Yakṣu*, which is probably identical with the *Oxus*. In 10—34—1 of the *Rigveda* mention has been made of the mountain called *Mujavat*, where *Soma* plants grew abundantly and at the foot of which lay (according to the *Matsys-purāṇa*, chap. 120—19) the lake called *Sailodā*, from which sprang the river also called *Sailodā*. This river is the same as *Silis* marked on geographical maps as *Jaxartes* (*ukert Geographie der Griechen and Romer*, vol. iii, 21, p. 238), which falls into the sea of *Aral*. In the *Rāmāyana** we find that the people called *Uttara-Kuru* lived on both banks of the river *Sailodā*. The *Uttra-Kurus*, mentioned by *Ptolemy* as *Ottorokorrhai* in Eastern *Turkestan*, have been described in the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* of the *Rigveda*† thus :—

“In the north, on the other side of the *Himālayas*, there are the countries called *Uttara-Kuru* and *Uttara-Madra*. The people living there use ablution for attaining *Brahmahood*. The people who make religious bathing in this way are called *Virāj*.”

In the above we have found that the rivers *Oxus* and *Jaxartes*, which flowed respectively through the southern and northern extremities of *Sogdiana* (*Çāka-dvīpa*), were actually mentioned in the *Rigveda*—the oldest document of the Hindus. While frequent mentions have been made in the Vedic literature of the people who performed sacrifices, etc., round the *Caspian Sea* and *Sogdiana*, we do not there come across a single passage making even the slightest allusion to the people of southern or middle *India*. It is an undeniable fact that the forefathers of the *Brāhmaṇas* came from the North-West, settled themselves in *Brahmāvarta* (the *Punjab*), and gradually migrated towards the south. I therefore would conclude that the *Çāka-dvīpi Brāhmins* are the

* तं तु देशमतिक्रम्य शैलोदा नाम निम्नगा ।

उभयोस्तैरयोस्तस्य कौचका नाम वेणवः ॥

ते नयन्ति परं तीरं सिद्धान् प्रत्यानयन्ति च ।

उत्तराः कुरवस्तत्र क्षतपुण्यप्रतिश्रयाः ॥

(*रामायण*, किष्किन्ध्याकाण्ड, ४३। ३७) ॥

† तस्माद् एतस्याम् उदीच्यां दिशि ये के च परेण हिमवन्तं जनपदा
उत्तरकुरव उत्तरभद्रा इति वैराज्याय ते अभिषिचन्ते । विराडित्येतान् अभि-
षक्तान् आचक्षते ॥ (*ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण*, ८। १४) ॥

remnants of the most ancient Brāhman* that chanted the hymns of the Vedas and Upaniṣads in the land of Āryas in the North-West. The designation *Maga* (wise) acquired by them from Persian or other foreign rulers does not in any way detract the sanctity of these noble Brāhman of old.

In the Purāṇas Ṣāka-dvīpi Brāhman have been described as worshippers of the Sun. There is nothing strange in this description. All true Brāhman are worshippers of the Sun. I give here a translation of the Vedic hymn called *Gāyatrī*,† which is obligatory on all best Brāhman of India to recite every day. It runs thus:—

“I adore that excellent lustre of the Sun-god that sends us intelligence.”

Graha-vipra.

On the authority of the *Brahmayāmala*‡ (chap. xiv) some

* Referring to the region comprising Sogdiana and Bactriana, Heeren (*Asiatic Nations*, 2nd edition, Vol. I, p. 424) writes:—

“It stood on the borders of the gold country, ‘in the road of the confluence of nations,’ according to an expression of the zend-avesta; and the conjecture that in this part of the world the human race made its first advance in civilization, seems highly probable.”

† ॐ भूर्भुवः स्वस्त्यवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि ।

धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात् ॐ ॥ (ऋग्वेद ३-६२-१०) ॥

‡ शरद्वीपे च वेदाभिः शाकद्वीपे च सिद्धकः ।

भूमध्ये च ब्रह्मचारी देवज्ञो दारकापुरे ॥

द्राविडि मैथिले चैव ग्रहविप्रैति संज्ञकः ।

अङ्गदेशे धर्मवक्ता पाञ्चाले शास्त्रिसंज्ञकः ॥

सारस्वते शुभमुखो गान्धारे चित्रपण्डितः ।

तीरहोत्रे तिथिविप्रो नाटके ऋक्षसूचकः ॥

उद्याने ज्योतिषी विप्रो ब्रह्मले विधिकारकः ।

वभ्राटे योगवेत्ता च निटाले देवपूजकः ॥

राड् देशे उपाध्यायो गयायां तन्त्रधारकः ।

कलिङ्गे जानविप्रः स्याद् आचार्यो गौडदेशके ॥

(ब्रह्मयामल, १४ प्र पटल) ॥

scholars* have asserted that the Graha-vipras (whose occupation consists in the science of planets) belong to a certain branch of the Sāka-dvipi Brāhman. The *Kula-pañji* (family-record) of a certain class of Graha-vipras does, in fact, corroborate the assertion. Jyotiṣ ṣāstra (the science of time and planets) is indeed regarded in the Sūryya-siddhānta as having been first propounded by a person† who descended from the disc of the Sun (Çāka-dvipi Brāhmaṇa?). On the other hand, I should add here that the ancestors of other Graha-vipras‡ were the same as those of other classes of Brāhman in India. Referring to the Indian Brāhman, who are designated as Sophists, Arrian § (in the second century A. D.) observes:—

“To this class the knowledge of divination among the Indians is exclusively restricted, and none but a Sophist is allowed to practise that art.”

II. VRĀTYA CASTES.

In the previous section we have found that each of the four original castes had to observe certain religious rites enjoined on it by Ṣāstras. Those members of the first three castes who would not observe these rites, specially those who failed to invest themselves with the sacred thread at the proper time, had to be degraded from their community. These unfortunate members were called *Vrātyas* or fallen. *Vrātya* is thus defined to be a Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya or Vaiçya who has lost caste through non-observance of Ṣāstric rites. In the *Manu-saṃhitā*|| the word *Vrātya* is thus defined:—

“Those children whom the twice-born beget on wives of equal caste, but who, not fulfilling their sacred duties, are excluded from the *Sāvitrī* (investiture with the sacred thread), one must designate by the appellation *Vrātyas*.”

* In this connection *vide* Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasad Sāstri in the *Proceedings* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, December 1901, and Babu Nagendra Nath Vasu in *Banger Jātiya Itihāsa*.

† न मे तेजःसहः कश्चिद् आख्यातुं नान्ति मे क्षयः ।

मदंशः पुरुषोऽयं ते निःशेषं कथयिष्यति ॥ (सूर्यसिद्धान्त, १ । ६) ॥

‡ The Sarajupāri Graha-vipras came to Bengal from Oudh (*vide* their *Kula-pañji*).

§ McCrindle's *Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 209.

|| द्विजातयः सर्वर्षासु जनयन्त्यव्रतांस्तु यान् ।

तान् सावित्री-परिभ्रष्टान् ब्राह्म्या इति विनिर्दिशेत् ॥

(मनुसंहिता १० । २०) ॥

In the Vedic literature, however, the word *Vrātya* bears a wider signification. There we find that all people—whether natives of India or foreigners—who were not within the pale of Brāhmanic civilization were also included among the *Vrātyas*. In the *Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa* of the *Sāmaveda* (chapter 17, section 4) the *Kauṣītakis* * have been specially noted as *Vrātya* and *Yajñāvalkya*. The 17th chapter of the *Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa* of the *Sāmaveda* † begins with the description of the following myth regarding the *Vrātyas* :—

“When the *Devas* ascended to *Svarga* some of their fellow-brethren still wandered on earth as *Vrātyas*. These latter being afterwards desirous of joining their fortunate brethren, came to the spot whence they had ascended to *Svarga*, but owing to their ignorance of the hymn (Vedic), they could not accomplish their object. The *Devas*, sympathising with their less fortunate brethren, asked *Maruts* to teach them the necessary hymn. The *Vrātya Devas*, having thus learnt the hymn called *Ṣoḍaśa* with the metre called *Anuṣṭubh*, ascended subsequently to *Svarga*.”

The above, I think, is a mere allegorical way of describing how foreigners became from time to time incorporated in the society of Brāhmans by learning the Vedic practices.

I have already referred to the fact that most parts of Central and Western Asia were known to the Hindus. In the 5th Book of the *Atharva-veda* ‡ we further find that to the Brāhmans of ancient India,

* एतेन वै ... तस्मात् कौषीतकीनां न कश्चन अतीव जिह्वीते यज्ञावकीर्णा हि ॥ ३ ॥ (ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मण १७।४।३) ॥

† देवा वै स्वर्गं लोकम् आयंस्तेषां देवा अहीयन्त ब्राह्म्यां प्रवसन्तस्त आगच्छन् यतो देवाः स्वर्गं लोकम् आयंस्तेन तं स्तोमं न हृन्दोऽविन्दन् येन तान् आपृश्यं स्ते देवा मरुतोऽब्रुवन् एतेभ्यस्तं स्तोमन्तच्छन्दः प्रायच्छत येन अस्मात् आप्रवानिति तेभ्य एतं षोडशं स्तोमं प्रायच्छन् परोक्षमनुष्टुभं ततो वै ते तानाप्रवान् इति तेभ्य एतं षोडशं स्तोमं प्रायच्छन् परोक्षमनुष्टुभं ततो वै ते तानाप्रवान् ॥ १ ॥ (ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मण १७श अध्यायः) ॥

‡ ओको यस्य मूजवन्त ओको यस्य महावृषाः ।

यावज्जातस्तक्मं स्तावानसि वज्रिकेषु न्योचरः ॥ ५ ॥

गन्धारिभ्यो मूजवद्भ्योऽङ्गिभ्यो मगधेभ्यः ।

प्रैथ्यं जनमिव श्रेवधिं तक्मानं परिदद्मसि ॥ १४ ॥ (अथर्वसंहिता ५।२२) ॥

Gandhāris, Mūjavants, Cūdras, Mahāvṛṣas and Vāhlikas in the North-West were not less known than the Angas and Magadhas in the east.

In the 15th Book of the Atharva-veda called *Vrātya-kāṇḍa** the *Vrātyas* have been greatly extolled. Thus we read :—

“He, in whose house a learned *Vrātya* puts up for a single night, acquires mastery over all the pious people of this world. He, in whose house he resides for two nights, becomes chief among all the pious people of the sky. He earns all the virtues of heaven, in whose house a learned *Vrātya* resides for three nights. He is certainly destined to be supreme among the virtuous of the virtuous, in whose house the learned *Vrātya* becomes guest for four nights. He will certainly gain immeasurable virtue, in whose house the *Vrātya* will live for innumerable nights.”

The *Vrātya Kāṇḍa*† of the *Atharvaveda* ends thus :—

“I bow down to the *Vrātya* in the west by day and to the *Vrātya* in the east by night.”

Māgadhas or the people of *Behar* have been repeatedly mentioned in the *Vrātya Kāṇḍa*. As the *Vrātya* people referred to in the Vedic literature cannot, owing to distance of time, be identified with the people of modern India I shall illustrate my theory of the *Vrātya* castes by references to the *Manusmṛiti*, &c., the present recensions of which were, according to scholars, prepared about the 1st century A.D.

* तद् यस्यैवं विद्वान् ब्राह्मणं एकां रात्रिमतिथिर्गृहे वसति ॥ १ ॥

ये पृथिव्यां पुण्या लोकास्तानेव तेनावरुन्धे ॥ २ ॥

तद् यस्यैवं विद्वान् ब्राह्मणो द्वितीयां रात्रिमतिथिर्गृहे वसति ॥ ३ ॥

ये अन्तरिक्षे पुण्या लोकास्तानेव तेनावरुन्धे ॥ ४ ॥

तद् यस्यैवं विद्वान् ब्राह्मणस्तृतीयां रात्रिमतिथिर्गृहे वसति ॥ ५ ॥

ये दिवि पुण्या लोकास्तानेव तेनावरुन्धे ॥ ६ ॥

तद् यस्यैवं विद्वान् ब्राह्मणश्चतुर्थीं रात्रिमतिथिर्गृहे वसति ॥ ७ ॥

ये पुण्यानां पुण्या लोकास्तानेव तेनावरुन्धे ॥ ८ ॥

तद् यस्यैवं विद्वान् ब्राह्मणोऽपरिमिता रात्रीरतिथिर्गृहे वसति ॥ ९ ॥

य एवापरिमिताः पुण्या लोकास्तानेव तेनावरुन्धे ॥ १० ॥

(अथर्वसंहिता १५ अ काण्ड, २ अनुवाक) ॥

† अङ्गा प्रत्यङ् ब्राह्मणो रात्र्या प्राङ् नमो ब्राह्मणाय ॥ ५ ॥ (१५।२) ॥

Manu affords us a pretty long list of the Vrātya people. In his list of Vrātya Brāhmanas* we find the following people :—

Vrātya Brāhmaṇa.—"From the Vrātya Brahmana spring the wicked Bhrjja Kaṇṭaka, the Āvantya, the Vāṭadhāna, the Puṣpadha, and the Čaikha."

In reality these people were distinctly foreign or aboriginal races.

Avantya.—Referred to in Baudhāyana (1, 2, 13) was probably the name of the Brāhmaṇa inhabitants of Avanti (Ujjain). The probable reason of the Āvantyas being designated Vrātyas is that they were greatly influenced by Buddhism. Avanti, which formed the western part of the great kingdom of Malwa, was ruled by the eldest sons of the Buddhist emperors of Magadha. Thus Aśoka, who was emperor of Magadha, had at first been ruler of Avanti. So also was Aśoka's son Mahinda prince of Avanti. It is a well-known fact that the priests of Avanti took a prominent part in the great second Buddhist convocation about 443 B.C. In fact, Brāhmanism did not properly flourish in Avanti until about 71 B.C., when it declared independence of Malava. We can therefore fairly conjecture that the inhabitants of Avanti were called Vrātyas, owing to their leaning towards Buddhism.

Vāṭa-dhāna.—Enumerated among the northern tribes, is probably the same as Veṭhadina or Veṭha-dipa described in the canonical Pali works. According to the Maha-parinibbāna-sutta the Brahmanas of Veṭha-dipa were devotees to Buddha and his religion. In chap. VI of the work it is distinctly stated that, on the demise of Buddha in 543 B.C., the Brāhmaṇas of Veṭha-dipa claimed and actually received 8th part of the relics of his body on which they built a great stūpa. Veṭha-dipa was situated in or near the district of Sahabad. We can thus well imagine why the Vāṭa-dhānas or Brāhmaṇas of Veṭha-dipa were called Vrātyas.

Vrātya-Kṣatriya.—Among the Vrātya-Kṣatriyas † Manu includes

* ब्राह्म्या तु जायते विप्रात् पापात्मा भञ्जकण्टकः ।

आवन्त्य वाटधानौ च पुष्पधः शैख एव च ॥ ११ ॥

(मनुसंहिता, १० अः).

† भल्लो मल्लश्च राजन्याद् ब्राह्मन्निच्छिविरेव च ।

नटश्च करणश्चैव खसो द्रविड एव च ॥ २२ ॥

शनकैस्तु क्रिया लोपादिमाः क्षत्रिय जातयः ।

वृषलत्वं गता लोके ब्राह्मणादर्शनेन च ॥ ४३ ॥

(मनुसंहिता, १० अः) ॥

the Jhalla, the Malla, the Nicchivi, the Naṭa, the Karaṇa, the Khasa, and Draviḍa. He further says: "In consequence of the omission of sacred rites and of their not consulting Brāhmaṇas, the following Kṣatriyas have gradually sunk in this world to the condition of Čūdras; viz., the Pauṇḍrakas, the Andras, the Draviḍas, the Kāmbojas, the Yavanas, the Čakas, the Pāradas, the Pahlavas, the Cinas, the Kirātas, and the Daradas."

It is scarcely necessary for me to observe here that most of the tribes mentioned by Manu as Vrātya Kṣatriyas were foreigners. A few there are who were aborigines of India. Regarding each of these tribes a short note is added below:—

Jhalla.—This tribe still lives in Northern India under the name of Jhāl.

Malla.—The Mallas were a Buddhist people that, according to the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta, lived in Pāvā and Kusināra in the district of Goruckpore. Megasthenes and Pliny mention them as Malli,* in whose country was mount Mallus, bounded by the Ganges.

Nicchivi.—The same as Licchavis, who, according to the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta, lived in Vaiśālī (modern Basārḥ) in the district of Muzaffarpore. They were powerful in the 5th century B.C. Samuel Beal is inclined to identify them with a branch of the Yue-chi race† that lived in the western border of China. But I think the Nicchivis were the same as Nisibis or Nysaioi mentioned by Ptolemy and Arrian. They lived in Nysa, or Nissa north of Elburz mountains, between Asterabad and Meshd. In the 4th century B.C., Megasthenes saw in India a race called Nesei (probably the same as Nisibi, Nicchivi, or Licchavi). In the Ballāla-charita chap. XVIII, the Nicchivis have been regarded as pure Kṣātrāyas and designated as Nikubhas.

Naṭa.—The Nats,‡ who, according to Wilson, correspond in their habits with the Gipsies of Europe, live in the districts of Bhagalpore, Gazipore, Oudh, Marwar, Kattywar, &c. The Naṭas were, I think, a branch of the nomadic people of Sakai (in Central Asia).

Karaṇa.—The Karaṇas were probably the same as the people of Khaurana who, according to Ptolemy, lived in Skythia in Central Asia. The word Korano that is found inscribed on old coins is probably the same as Karaṇa. According to Samuel Beal§ Korana and Kushāna are

* McCrindle's Megasthenes, p. 135.

† Beal's Buddhistic Records, Vol. II, p. 67.

‡ Sherring's Hindu Tribes and Castes, Vol. I, p. 387, and Vol. II, p. 227.

§ Kanishka was king of the Yuei-chi, and the rise of his dynasty is placed by Chinese authors in the 1st century B.C. On his coins he is styled in the corrupt

only different forms of the same word. Now the Kushāna tribe, to which King Kanishka belonged, has been designated by Chinese authors as Kwei-shwang, which was a branch of the very powerful race called by Chinese writers as Yuechi that lived in Central Asia on the Chinese borders. It is therefore not altogether improbable that Karaṇa, Korana, Kushāna, Kwei-shwang, and Khaurana were names of one and the same tribe that lived in Central Asia.

Now Karaṇa is the name of a well-known Indian caste. People belonging to that caste live in various parts of India, occupying social position below the Rajputs.

The people called Karaṇa also live in the eastern hills of Assam, in Burma, and Siam.

Khasa.—The Khasas came from Kasia (Kashgar?) in Skythia (in Central Asia) and settled in large numbers in the Upper Punjab, where they were, according to the Buddhist chronicles of Ceylon, subdued by Aśoka about 260 B.C. They were chief among the mountain tribes that, according to the Rājatarangīṇī, bordered on Kāśmīra.

McCrindle observes:—

“Baber knows also that a people of the name of Khas is indigenous to the high valleys in the neighbourhood of the eastern Hindu-Koh; and with every reason, we attach to this indigenous people the origin of the name of Kāshgar, which is twice reproduced in the geography (of Ptolemy) of these high regions.*

The Khasas live in great number in Northern India under the name of Khas or Khasiya. Referring to the Khasiyas, Rev. Mr. Sherring† observes:—

“This is an extensive tribe of Rajputs inhabiting the hill country of Garhwāl, Kumaon, and Dehra Dūn. Their right to the rank of Rajputs is questioned by some Hindus.....The natives of Kumaon look upon the Khasiyas as the oldest inhabitants of the province.”

Draviḍa.—The Dravidians of Southern India, consisting of innumerable tribes of diverse social positions, have been collectively designated as Kṣatriyas (Vrātya) in as much as they were noted for their valour even before the rise of the Andhra, Chola, Pāṇḍya, and other dynasties.

Greek legends as Kanyski Korano, and in the Bactrian Pali legends and Mani Kyāla inscription he is called Kanishka the Kushāna, or “of the Gushāna family” connecting him with the tribe called by Chinese Kwei-shwang. Korano and Kushāna are only different forms of the same word. (Beal’s Records, Vol. I, p. 56, note.)

* McCrindle’s Ptolemy, p. 304.

† Sherring’s Hindu Castes and Tribes, Vol. I, pp. 242-43.

Paundraka.—The ancient people of Puṇḍra-bardhana corresponding to modern Dinajpur and Maldah in Northern Bengal. The worst specimens of the Paundrakas still live in Northern Bengal under the name of Pūḍo.

Audra.—The people of Orissa.

Kāmboja.—The Kāmbojas were the people that inhabited the Hindu Kush mountain, which separates the Gilgit valley from Balkh.

Yavana.—Probably the Bactrian Greeks. The Yavanas are mentioned in the Mahābhārata (Sabhāparva, Chap. 32) and Viṣṇupurāṇa, etc.

Čaka.—The people of Sakai bounded on the west by Sogdiana, on the north and east by Skythia, and on the south by Imaos (Bloor chain). According to Ptolemy* the country of Sakai was inhabited by nomads. They had no towns, but dwelt in woods and caves. The principal tribes living in Sakai were (1) Karatai, (2) Komaroi, (3) Komedai, (4) Massagetai, (5) Gynaioi Skythai, (6) Toornai, (7) Byltai, etc.

Pārada.—Pāradas were probably the people of Paradene in Gedrosia (Baluchistan).

Pahlava.—Probably the people of Parthia. They are mentioned in the Mahābhārata (Sabhāparva, Chap. 32). In the Viṣṇu-purāṇa† they are described as a Vṛātya Kṣatriya race conquered by Sagara and sentenced by him to wear beards. The Vallabhi gowalas of the present day may perhaps be traced to the pastoral tribes of the Pahlavas.

Čina.—The people of China.

Kirāta.—The Kirātas are a flat-faced people (decisively Mongolian in appearance) that are very numerous in Sikkim, east Nepal, Darjeeling, etc. According to Ptolemy Kirrhadia or the residence of the Kirātas lay in the east-north-east frontier of India notably in modern Tipperah. But in reality Kirrhadia included Sylhet, Assam, Kooch Behar and Rungpore too. McCrindle‡ observes:—

“Although the Kirāta, long before the time in which he (Ptolemy) lived, had wandered from their northern fatherland to the Himālaya and thence spread themselves to the regions on the Brahmaputra, still it is not to be believed that they should have possessed themselves of territory so far south as Caturgrāma (Chittagong), and a part of Arakan. We can therefore be scarcely mistaken if we consider the inhabitants of this territory at that time as a people belonging to further India, and

* McCrindle's Ptolemy, pp. 283-84.

† Wilson's Viṣṇupurāṇa, p. 375.

‡ McCrindle's Ptolemy, p. 193.

in fact as tribal relatives of Tamerai, who possessed the mountain region that lay back in the interior”

Darada.—The Daradas, mentioned in the Mahābhārata and Rājataranginī, were the people of Dardistan. They inhabited the mountain region which lay to the east of the Lambatai and of Souasteneg and to the north of the uppermost part of the course of the Indus along the north-west frontier of Kāśmīra. McCrindle* observes:—

“This was the region made so famous by the story of the gold-digging ants first published to the west by Herodotus (lib. iii, ccii) and afterwards repeated by Megasthenes, while version of it is to be found in Strabo (lib xv, ci 44), and in Arrian’s Indika (sec. 15) and also in Pliny (lib. vi, cxxi and lib. xi, cxxxvi).”

Vrātya Vaiçya.—Referring to the Vrātya Vaiçyas Manu says:—

“From the Vrātya Vaiçya caste are born Sudhanvan, Cārya, Kārūṣa, Vījanman, Maitra and Sātvata.”

Nothing is known about the people mentioned here. A little that is known about Kārūṣa is noted below.

Kārūṣa.—The people called Kārūṣa are mentioned in the Viṣṇu-purāṇa (Book II, Chap. III). In the Mahābhārata we find that King of Kārūṣa† attended the sabhā of Yndhiṣṭhira. Some identify Kārūṣa with a part of the district of Shahabad, but I think the people called Kārūṣa were the same as Calissae that, according to Megasthenes (McCrindle, p. 137), lived beyond the Ganges.‡

From the above it is evident that the people of Parthia, Paradene, Balkh, Sakai, Skythia, Sériké, China, Dardistan, Nepal, Sikkim, Behar, Orissa, Northern Bengal, Southern India, Kirrhadia, etc., have all been called Vrātyas or non-observers of Vedic rites. In fact the foreigners and aborigines who were not followers of Brāhmanism were called Vrātyas.

* McCrindle’s Ptolemy, p. 107.

† शिशुपालः सहस्रतः कारुषाधिपतिस्तथा ।

दृष्टीणां चैव दुर्द्धवाः कुमारः देवरूपिणः ॥ २६ ॥

(महाभारत,सभापर्व ४ अः)

‡ Mr. Pargiter observes:—

Kārūṣa, therefore, was a hilly country and lay south of Kasi and Vatsa between Cedi on the west and Magadha on the east, and enclosing the Kaimur hills, which are part of the Vindhya; that is, it comprised all the hilly country of which Rewa is the centre, from about the river Ken on the west to the confines of Vihar on the east. It would have touched Chedi on its north-west and Dasārna on its west (Jou nal, A. S. B., Part I of 1895, p. 255-56.)

Vrātya-stoma.—In the first paragraph of this section the distinction between a pure caste and a *Vrātya* caste has already been indicated. It now remains to give a short account of the sacrifice by which a *Vrātya* could be admitted into a pure caste. In the *Tāṇḍya-pañcaviṃṣa Brāhmaṇa* of the *Sāmaveda* this sacrifice called *Vrātya-stoma* has been described at length. It is of various kinds, of which two may be mentioned here. The first, called *Hina-vrātya*, was a sacrifice that was performed for the conversion of the unfranchised people, and the second, called *Gara-gir*, was that for the re-admission of the degraded ones.

The people called *Hina-vrātyas** are thus described in the *Tāṇḍya-Mahābrāhmaṇa*: “Verily the *Hina-vrātyas* are those who wander on earth as *Vrātyas* do not practise *Brahmacaryya*, do not till land, nor carry on trade.”

The *Gara-gir*† (*lit.* ‘swallowers of poison’) are thus described: “Those are called *Gara-gir* who eat the food to be eaten by *Brāhmaṇas*, who though not abused complain of being abused, who punish those not deserving punishment, and who though not initiated speak the language of the initiated.”

In the *Tāṇḍya-Mahābrāhmaṇa* of the *Sāmaveda* and *Ṡrauta-Sūtra* of *Lātyāyana* it is stated that the *Vrātya* householder who wishes to perform the *Vrātya-stoma*‡ should secure a turban, a whip, a small

* हीना वा एते हीयन्ते ये ब्राह्म्यां प्रवसन्ति नहि ब्रह्मचर्यं चरन्ति न कृषिं न वणिज्यां षोडशो वा एतत् स्तोमः समाप्तमर्हति ॥

२ ॥ (ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मण १७ अ., १ खण्ड) ।

† गरगिरो वा एते ये ब्रह्माद्यज्ञान्यमन्नमदन्ति अदुग्धवाक्यं दुग्धमाजः अदण्डान् दण्डेन व्रन्तश्चरन्ति अदीक्षिता दीक्षितवाचं वदन्ति..... ॥ ६ ॥

(ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मण १७ । १) ॥

Vide in this connection *Rājārām Rām Krishna Bhagavat's* article named “A chapter from the *Tāṇḍya-Brāhmaṇa*” in the *Journal* of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XIX of 1895-97.

‡ उष्णीषञ्च प्रतोदश्च व्याहोडश्च विपथश्च कलकास्तीर्णः कृष्णशं वासः कृष्णवल्ग्वो अजिने रजतो निष्कस्तद् गृहतेः ॥ १४ ॥

(ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मण १७ । १) ॥

बलूकान्तानि दामतूषाणीतरेषां द्वे द्वे दामनौ द्वे द्वे उपानहौ द्विषं हितानि अजिनानि ॥ तद् गृहपतेरित्येतत् सर्वं गृहपतिराहरेत् त्रयस्त्रिंशत्तच्च ॥ १८ ॥ (ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मण १७ । १२५ ॥

bow (without arrows), a chariot (with boards), a cloth (with black borders), two pieces of woollen garment, a silver coin, a pair of black shoes (with ears), thirty-three cows, etc.

As soon as the sacrifice is performed he should give these things to his old brethren who still remain Vrātyas or to a contemptuous Brāhmaṇa of the province of Bihar (Brahma-bandhu Magadhadesiyāya). It is further stated that there should be at least thirty-three Vrātyas for performing this sacrifice. When such a sacrifice was performed the Vrātyas, having secured the rights and privileges of the twice-born castes, might afterwards learn the Vedas, perform sacrifices, receive presents and dine with Brāhmaṇas without being required to submit to penance. This is a very brief account of the Vrātya theory. It is, however, necessary to add here a few words about the "contemptuous Brāhmaṇs" of Vihāra (Magadha) who used to accept the gifts given by Vrātyas. I suppose these Brāhmaṇas are now-a-days called Agradānis.

Agradāni Brāhmaṇa.—According to the Brahmaparivarta Purāṇa the Agradānis are a class of degraded Brāhmaṇas who receive presents or take things previously offered to the dead. In the present days the Agradāni Brāhmaṇas receive in the Preta Ṣrāddha or obsequious ceremony such presents as sofas, wooden shoes, calves, gold pieces, sesamum seeds, &c. They also receive all gifts in the Prāyaścitta (or the ceremony for expiation of sins). Now, this *Prāyaścitta* is nothing but a Vrātya-stoma. I am therefore inclined to believe that the Agradāni Brāhmaṇs of the present day are descendants of those Brāhmaṇs of Vihar (Brahma-bandhu Magadhadesiyya) who used to accept gifts from the Vrātyas in the days of composition of the Tāṇḍya-Mahābrahmaṇa and Lāṭyāyana Ṣrauta-Sūtra.

It is very difficult to say at what period the Vrātya-stoma became stopped in India. Perhaps the real truth is that it was never stopped. It still continues in a modified shape under the name of *Prāyaścitta*. But the rigidity of the Hindu society of modern times forms a strong contrast to the flexibility of that of the ancient days. Social exclusiveness perhaps commenced in India with the Mahomedan invasion of the country in the 9th century A.D.; for, even as late as about the 7th century A.D. the Huns and other foreigners had been incorporated in the Hindu society and ranked as Kṣatriyas.

ब्राह्मणे ब्राह्मणानि ये ब्राह्मचर्याया अविरताः स्युः ब्रह्मबन्धवे वा
मगधदेशीयाय यस्मा एतद्दति तस्मिन्नेव मृजाना यन्तीति ज्ञाह ॥ १८ ॥
(लाङ्कायनौये औतसूत्रे ८ । ६) ॥

III. SAṂKARA CASTES.

In later Sanskrit works the word *Vrātya* is very seldom found. The term that repeatedly occurs here is *Saṃkara*. It is thus defined by Manu* :—

“By adultery committed by persons of different castes, by marriages with women who ought not to be married, and by neglect of the duties prescribed by *Sāstras*, are produced children who are called *Varna-Saṃkara* (or simply *Saṃkara*).”

Thus, according to tradition, *Saṃkara* signifies those castes that are said to have been produced by a mixture of different castes. As the mixture can take place in innumerable ways the number of mixed castes is unlimited. Thus the four original castes by intermarriage can give rise to twelve mixed castes. These twelve by mixture among themselves and with the four original castes may produce hundreds of other castes. In this way the mixed castes may be multiplied infinite-fold. This is a very brief statement of the traditional theory. My own theory about the *Saṃkara* is quite different. In my opinion, the *Vrātya* and other people, having entered the hierarchy of *Brāhmaṇas*, were called *Saṃkara*. The *Saṃkaras* were, in fact, the people (foreigners or aborigines) who entered the *Brāhmanic* society at a comparatively late time. Let me illustrate my theory by reference to the *Saṃkara* castes mentioned in the *Manusamhitā* (Book X). The *Saṃkara* castes which, according to Manu, were produced from parents of different castes are shown below with a short note of mine appended to some of them :—

Ambaṣṭha—is, according to Manu, son of a *Brāhmaṇa* father and *Vaiśya* mother. But in all probability the *Ambaṣṭha* is identical with the tribe called *Ambautai* that, according to Ptolemy, lived in *paropanisadai* (in *Ariana*) in the eastern part of the *Hindu Kush* mountain. Lassen thinks that these *Ambautai* may have been connected in some way with the *Ambastai* that lived round the country of *Bettigoi*. The locality of the *Ambastai* is quite uncertain. In Yule's map they are placed doubtfully to the south of the sources of the *Mahānadi* of *Orissa*. According to McCrindle† the *Ambastai* represent the *Ambaṣṭha* of Sanskrit, a people mentioned in the *Epics*, where it is said that they fought with the club for a weapon. In the time of Alexander tribes of *Ambaṣṭhas* lived in the *Punjab* (McCrindle's *Megasthenes*, p. 149).

Niṣāda.—According to Manu, son of a *Brāhmaṇa* father and *Sūdra* mother. But in reality *Niṣāda* was the name of an aboriginal people of

* व्यभिचारेण वर्णानामवेद्यावेदनेन च ।

स्वकर्म्मण्याच्च त्यागेन जायन्ते वर्णसङ्कराः ॥ २३ ॥ (मनुसंहिता १० अः ।

† McCrindle's Ptolemy, pp. 160-161.

India mentioned in the Nirukta (3-8). In the Lātyāyana-Çrauta-Sūtra (8-2-8) mention has been made of *Niṣāda-gramas* (villages possessed by Niṣādas). In the Rāmāyaṇa (Ayodhyā kāṇḍa 50) we find that Guha, the lord of Niṣādas, who reigned in Śringaverapura was so pious that he showed hospitality to Ramachandra during his exile in the forest. Some say Śringaverapura lay in Berar; others think it was situated in the neighbourhood of the district of Mirzapore, while a third class of scholars identify it with Sungroor.

Pārasava.—Same as Niṣāda.

Ugra (Āguri).—Son of a Kṣatriya father and Sūdra mother.

Avrita.—According to Manu, son of a Brāhmaṇa father and Ugra mother. Avrita is perhaps the same as Abaortæ that, according to Megasthenes, lived beyond the Indus towards the Caucasus. McCrindle (Megasthenes, p. 149) observes:—

“The Afghan tribe of the Afridis may perhaps represent the Abaortæ.”

Abhira.—According to Manu, son of a Brāhmaṇa father and Ambaṣṭha mother. In reality the Abhīras (the Ahīrs of common speech) were the pastoral tribes that inhabited the lower districts of the north-west as far as Sindh. The country of the Ābhīras was called Abirīa (in Indo-Scythia) that lay to the east of the Indus above where it bifurcates to form the delta. Some scholars maintain that Abirīa was the same as Ophir of the Christian Scriptures.* According to the Viṣṇupurāṇa (Book IV, Chap. 24) the Abhīras conquered Magadha and reigned there for several years.

Sūta.—According to Manu, son of a Kṣatriya father and Brāhmaṇa mother. But Sūta was perhaps the same as Setæ that, according to Megasthenes, lived in the neighbourhood of Dardistan.

Vaidehaka.—According to Manu, son of a Vaiçya father and Brāhmaṇa mother. But Vaidehakas were perhaps a tribe of the aborigines of Videha (Darbhanga).

Caṇḍāla.—According to Manu, son of a Sūdra father and Brāhmaṇa mother. This was in reality the name of the ferocious aborigines of India

Māgadha.—According to Manu, son of a Kṣatriya mother and Vaiçya father. This was probably an aboriginal tribe of Behar.

Kṣattri.—According to Manu, son of a Sūdra father and Kṣatriya mother. But according to Greek writers† the people that held the territory comprised between the Hydraotes (Rāvi) and the Hyphasis (Biyas) were the Kathaioi (or Kṣatriai) whose capital was Sangala. The name is still found spread over an immense area in the north-west of India, under forms slightly variant. A tribe of the Kṣattris named

* McCrindle's Ptolemy, p. 140.

† McCrindle's Ptolemy, pp. 157-58.

Kāthi, issuing from the lower parts of the Punjab, established themselves in Surāṣṭra, and gave the name of Kāthiabaḍ to the great peninsula of Gujerat.

Āyogava.—According to Manu, son of a Sūdra father and Vaiśya mother.

Dhigvaṇa.—According to Manu, son of a Brāhmaṇa father and Āyogava mother.

Pukkasa.—According to Manu, son of a Niṣāda father and Sūdra mother.

Kukkuṭaka.—Son of a Sūdra father and Niṣāda mother.

Svapāka.—Son of a Kṣatri father and Ugra mother.

Veṇa.—Son of a Vaidehaka father and Ambaṣṭha mother.

Sairandhra.—Son of a Dasyu father and Āyogava mother.

Maitreyaka.—Son of a Vaideha father and Āyogava mother.

Kaivarta.—According to Manu, son of a Niṣāda father and Āyogava mother. But the Kaivartas were perhaps a tribe of the original inhabitants of Bengal, etc. In the Rāmāyaṇa (Ayodhyākāṇḍa 83) they are described as moving in cow-carts and (in the Ayodhyākāṇḍa 84) as possessors of five hundred boats.

Mārgava.—The same as Kaivarta.

Dāṣa.—The same as Kaivarta.

Kārāvara.—Son of a Niṣāda father and Vaideha mother.

Andhra.—According to Manu, son of a Vaidehaka father and Kārāvara mother. The Andhras were perhaps the same as Andharas mentioned by Megasthenes as living near the upper Narmadā (McCrindle, p. 138).

Meda.—Son of a Vaidehaka father and Niṣāda mother.*

Pāṇḍusopāka.—Son of a Caṇḍāla father and Vaideha mother.

Āhiṇḍaka.—Son of a Niṣāda father and Vaideha mother.

Sapāka.—Son of Caṇḍāla father and Pukkasa mother.

Antyāvaśāyin.—Son of Caṇḍāla father and Niṣāda mother.

In the above we have found that the so-called mixed (Saṃkara) castes are not mixtures of different castes, but are integral races of people whose ancestors were either aboriginal inhabitants of India or intruders from outside. I may also cite here a few instances of castes that had previously been regarded as Vrātyas, but in later days were reckoned as Saṃkaras. We have already seen that the Karaṇa, Paṇḍraka, Malla, &c., were regarded by Manu as Vrātya Kṣatriyas. But in later Sanskrit

* The Monghyr inscription, which belongs to the earlier part of the 8th century, also names the *Meda* as a low tribe of this region (Asiatic Researches, Vol. I, p. 126, Calcutta, 1788), and, what is remarkable, their name is found joined to that of the Andhra, precisely as in the text of Manu (McCrindle's Megasthenes, pp. 133-134).

works they have been regarded as mixed castes. Thus in the *Brahma-vaivarta Purāṇa* the *Karaṇa* is mentioned as having been born of a *Vaiçya* father and *Sūdra* mother, the *Paṇḍraka* from a *Vaiçya* father and *Çuṇḍi* mother, and the *Malla* from a *Leṭa* father and *Tibara* mother. The *Bharjjakaṇṭakas*, who, we have seen, were regarded by *Manu* as *Vrātya Brāhmaṇas*, have been described in the *Gautama Saṃhitā* (Chap. IV) as a mixed caste born from a *Brāhmaṇa* father and *Vaiçya* mother. The *Yavanas*, who were regarded by *Manu* as *Vrātya Kṣatriyas*, have been described in the *Gautama-Saṃhitā* as a mixed caste born from a *Kṣatriya* father and *Sūdra* mother. The *Kirāta* mentioned in the *Manusāṃhitā* as *Vrātya Kṣatriya* has been described in the *Ballala-charita* as a mixed caste born from a *Vaiçya* father and *Brāhmaṇa* mother.

Sarāka.—The *Sarākas* returned in the Government Census as a Jain or Buddhist sect have been mentioned in the *Brahma-Vaivarta Purāṇa* as a Hindu caste born of a *Jolā* father and Weaver mother. In reality the *Sarākas* are immigrants from *Serike* (in Central Asia). The Jain sect called *Saraogie* is perhaps identical with the people called *Sorgae** that, according to *Megasthenes* (in the 4th century B.C.), occupied a tract of country lying above the confluence of the *Indus* with the stream of the combined rivers of the *Punjab*. According to Jain accounts, *Saraogies* are descendants of those *Rajputs* and *Vaiçyas* who were converted to Jainism by *Acharyya Jina-sena* in *Khandela* (north of *Jaipur*) in the year 643 after *Mahāvira*, i.e., in 116 A.D. *Sorgae* therefore in the 2nd century A.D. advanced as far south as *Jaipur*. I do not find any intimate relation between the *Saraogies* and *Sarākas*. However, both might perhaps have come from *Serike* (in Central Asia), one through the north-western frontier and the other through the north-eastern.

Kaivarta, &c..—The *Kols*, who are evidently an aboriginal wild people of India, have been designated in the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* as a mixed caste born of a *Leṭa* father and *Tibara* mother. The *Kaivartas*, who were perhaps the original (and once very powerful) inhabitants of *Bengal*, have, we have seen, been described in the *Manusāṃhitā* as a mixed caste born from a *Niṣāda* father and *Āyogava* mother, but in the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* as that born from a *Kṣatriya* father and *Vaiçya* mother. The *Andhra*, *Chola*, and *Pāṇḍya* tribes of the *Dravidian* people became in course of time reckoned as pure *Kṣatriyas*. The *Tāmila* tribe of *Dravida* made several inroads into *Ceylon*, and the 5th century A.D. five *Tāmila* kings successively reigned in the island. The *Tāmils* came towards the north, too, and the *Tāmbuli* caste of *Bengal* was perhaps formed by them. I think I need not cite any more examples to establish my theory of *Saṃkara* castes.

* McCrindle's *Megasthenes*, p. 149.

Origin of Saṃkara Castes.—It should be observed here that in the primitive stage of the Hindu society, when the foreigners and aborigines first came in contact with each other, intermarriage among different castes did perhaps prevail. The Brāhmaṇa could marry girls of all the four castes, the Kṣatriya of three castes, the Vaiçya of two castes, and the Sūdra of his own caste only. The children born of parents of different castes generally got the rank of their father. Manu* discusses the point thus :—

“69. As good seed, springing up in good soil, turns out perfectly well, even so the son of an Āryan by an Āryan woman is worthy of all the sacraments.

“70. Some sages declare the seed to be more important, and others the field ; and again others assert that the seed and the field are equally important ; but the legal decision on this point is as follows :—

“71. Seed sown on barren ground perishes in it ; a fertile field also, in which no good seed is sown, will remain barren.

“72. As through the power of the seed, sons born of animals became sages who are honoured and praised, hence the seed is declared to be more important.”

Regarding the distribution of assets among the sons born of wives of different castes, Manu† lays down :—

“Let the son of the Brāhmaṇi wife take three shares of the estate, the son of the Kṣatriyā two, the son of the Vaiçyā a share and a half, and the son of the Sūdrā may take one share.”

Intermarriage is of two kinds: *Anuloma* and *Pratiloma*. The former is that in which a man of a higher caste marries a woman of a lower caste, and the latter is quite reverse of the former. Manu's laws concern themselves with *anulomaja* children. There is no definite law regarding the *pratilomaja* children. They get the rank of either of the parents according to expediency. Thus, the *Anulomaja* and *Pratilomaja* children did not constitute the Saṃkara castes, but became absorbed in one or other of the four original castes.

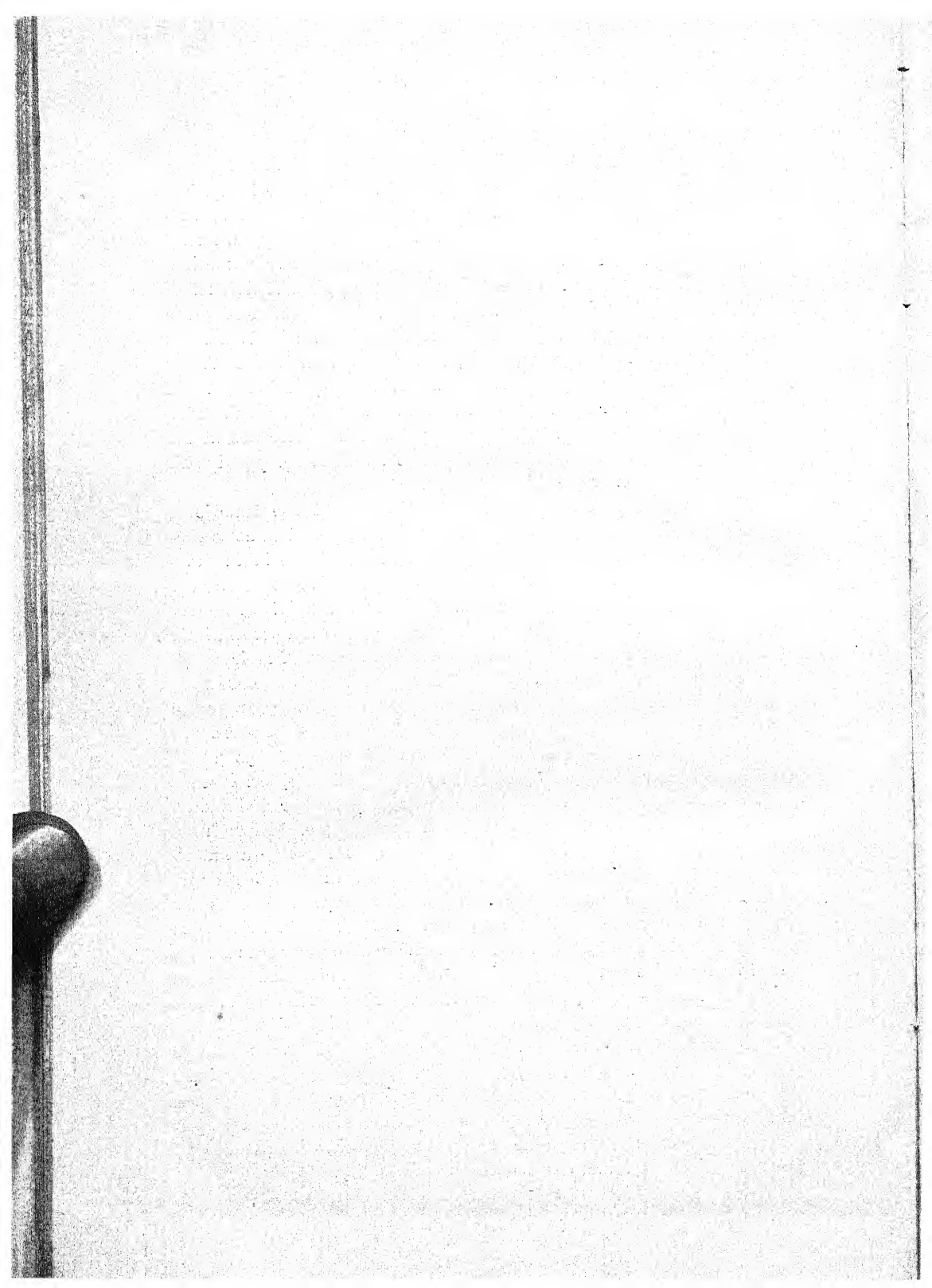
The anuloma marriage sanctioned by Manu and other lawgivers prevailed at a time when each of the four original castes possessed the power of assimilating in itself people of the other castes ; nay, all people—foreigners or aborigines. In course of time the four original castes, having lost this power of assimilation, became stereotyped. At that stage the foreigners and aborigines had to perform the purificatory ceremony called *Vrātya-stoma* before they could get admittance into society of Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, or Vaiçya. The four castes which had

* G. Buhler's *Manusamhita*, Book X (translated in S.B.E. series).

† G. Buhler's *Manusamhita*, Book IX.

in the beginning been living organisms became by and by dead crystals, and there came a time when even the *Vrātya-stoma* became insufficient for the incorporation of outsiders. At this stage each tribe of unfreighted people, after being admitted into the Hindu society, formed a caste of its own. In this way innumerable castes (wrongly called *Samkara* or mixed) became formed. In the present age of civilization the so-called *Samkara* castes are in their turn tending towards mergence in the four original castes and each man is trying to trace his descent from the earliest *Brāhmaṇa*, *Kṣatriya*, *Vaiçya*, or *Çūdra* forefather. It is probable that in course of time the entire Hindu population of India will be absorbed in the four original castes for whom alone duties, etc., were prescribed by *Sāstras*. But the defect of the matter lies in the fact that the fourfold classification of castes does not completely suit the present condition of the Hindu society.

From what we have found here it is evident that the traditional *Samkara* process of birth exists in mere theories, but does not correspond to actual facts. No caste ever came into existence in the way presupposed by the traditional theory. I do not include here among the *Samkaras* those people who in the early stage of the Hindu society were born from parents of different castes; for, they did not constitute a fifth caste, but used to become incorporated in the caste of their father. It is, however, undeniable that even in the present day there are some rare instances of the father and mother being of different castes, but in those cases the children get the rank of either of the parents. In Darjeeling I met with several instances in which the *Brāhmaṇa* father and *Chatri* mother gave birth to children that were *Chattris*, but I never met with a single instance in which a *Brāhmaṇa* father and *Chatri* mother gave birth to a child that produced a third caste. Though the *Samkara* process of birth is an absolute myth, it must be admitted that the theory of *Samkara* castes expounded in the *Brāhmaṇic Sāstras* is indeed very grand. The *Brāhmaṇa* legislators by tracing the four original castes from the different limbs of *Brahma* the Supreme Being and then deriving all other castes from a mixture of the four thoroughly established the unity and common footing of all the members of the Hindu society. All castes, from *Brāhmans* to *Chandālas*, are shown to be directly or indirectly connected with the Supreme Being and the gradations of honour existing among the members of different castes are also duly maintained. But it should be observed here that the *Vrātya* theory was very much simpler, for it assumed only four classes of people. The *Vrātya* people, having performed the *Vrātya-stoma*, could freely mix with members of the four pure and original castes on terms of equality.



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